

numerous reasons. So its backers must lump together a series of other vices that are admittedly bad, but that are really just distractions here.

If voter intimidation, or vote buying, or absentee ballots cause real problems, then regulate these ills. But don't cite them in support of a policy that will do nothing to stop them. It doesn't follow, as a simple matter of logic.

And it doesn't make sense as a policy matter either. A law that will discourage voting by the groups who historically vote at disproportionately low levels, and that will actually lock eligible citizens out of the electoral process — something my colleagues will say more about — had better be justified as a reliable fix for a real and very serious problem.

That simply is not the case with S.B. 362.

I thank you for your time, and am happy to answer any questions that you might have.

ⁱ See Brief of the Brennan Center for Justice *et al.* as *Amici Curiae* Supporting Petitioners, Crawford v. Marion County Election Board, Nos. 07-21, 07-25 (U.S. Nov. 13, 2007); Brief of Brennan Center for Justice at NYU School of Law as *Amicus Curiae* in Support of Plaintiffs-Appellants and Reversal, Crawford v. Marion County Election Board, 472 F.3d 949 (7th Cir. 2007); Brief *Amicus Curiae* of the Brennan Center for Justice at NYU School of Law in Support of Plaintiffs/Appellants and Reversal, Gonzalez v. Arizona, 485 F.3d 1041 (9th Cir. 2007); Brief of Brennan Center for Justice at NYU School of Law as *Amicus Curiae* in Support of Plaintiffs/Appellees and Affirmance, Case No. 07-02067 (10th Cir. Sept. 17, 2007); Brief of Brennan Center for Justice at N.Y.U. Law School as *Amicus Curiae* in Support of Plaintiffs-Appellees and Affirmance, Common Cause/Georgia v. Cox, Case No. 05-15784-G (11th Cir. Jan. 14, 2006); Brief of Brennan Center for Justice at NYU School of Law as *Amicus Curiae* in Support of Plaintiffs' Motion for Summary Judgment, ACLU of N.M. v. Santillanes, 506 F. Supp. 2d 598 (D.N.M. 2007).

ⁱⁱ Justin Levitt, The Truth About Voter Fraud (2007), available at <http://www.brennancenter.org/content/resources/truthaboutvoterfraud/>.

ⁱⁱⁱ See generally Wendy Weiser & Margaret Chen, Voter Suppression Incidents 2008, Nov. 3, 2008, at http://www.brennancenter.org/content/resource/voter_suppression_incidents/.

^{iv} See, e.g., Ronald L. Holle, Lightning Deaths by State, 1997 to 2006 (2007), at http://lightningsafety.noaa.gov/stats/1997-2006_Fatalities+Rates.pdf.

^v See, e.g., UFO Casebook, Breaking UFO News Reports, at <http://www.ufocasebook.com/>.

^{vi} See Jingle Davis, *Even Death Can't Stop Some Voters*, Atlanta Journal Constitution, Nov. 6, 2000.

^{vii} See Secretary of State Cathy Cox, The 2000 Election: A Wake-Up Call for Reform and Change 11 n.3 (2001), available at http://www.sos.state.ga.us/acrobat/elections/2000_election_report.pdf; see also Jingle Davis, *State Plans to Update Voter Lists*, Atlanta Journal Constitution, Feb. 10, 2001.

^{viii} See <http://www.texaswatchdog.org/2008/10/dead-voters-cast-ballots-in-dallas-county/>.

^{ix} See <http://www.dallasnews.com/sharedcontent/dws/news/politics/local/stories/121408dnmetvoterfraud.31ad7c1.html>.

^x See U.S. Dep't of Justice, Criminal Division, Public Integrity Section, Election Fraud Prosecutions & Convictions, Ballot Access & Voting Integrity Initiative, October 2002 – September 2005, at <http://www.truthaboutfraud.org/pdf/doj%20election%20fraud%20prosecutions.pdf>.

^{xi} See Dave Montgomery, *Voter ID Legislation Touches Off Partisan Battle among Texas Lawmakers*, Ft. Worth Star-Telegram, Jan. 20, 2009; Arnold Garcia, Jr., Editorial, *Tackle State's Real Problems*, Austin American-Statesman, Jan. 18, 2009.

^{xii} See 42 U.S.C. § 1973i(c), (e); 42 U.S.C. § 1973gg-10.

^{xiii} See Tex. Elections Code § 64.012; Tex. Penal Code § 12.34.

^{xiv} Dalia Lithwick, *Nuts about ACORN*, Slate, Oct. 16, 2008, at <http://www.slate.com/toolbar.aspx?action=print&id=2202428>; see also Texas Politics, *A Republican, His Mother and Voter ID*, Apr. 24, 2007.

^{xv} See Tex. Elections Code §§ 63.006-63.0101.

Written Testimony of
Robert A. Simms, Georgia Deputy Secretary of State
Before the United States Senate
Committee on Rules & Administration

Chairwoman Feinstein, Senator Bennett and members of the Committee: I would like to thank you for the opportunity to testify before you today about voter fraud, voter identification laws and ways in which states are addressing these issues.

Today's hearing is very important, and it is my hope that this occasion will be the beginning of a substantive discussion on the important issue of voter fraud and steps elections officials are taking to combat it. Unfortunately, much of the debate on one of the remedies states are considering -- the issue of photo identification requirements in connection with voting -- is most times driven by rhetoric, hyperbole, and lacking in facts and data.

In this regard, I view my testimony today as an opportunity to be a "Myth-buster" of sorts, because in-person voter fraud has in fact occurred in Georgia, and our state's photo identification law has been successfully implemented and enforced without incident, controversy and, most importantly, without a negative impact on Georgia's voters.

I think all of us can -- and should -- agree that everyone involved in this dialogue is motivated by the best of intentions. It has been too easy for individuals on both sides of the debate to resort to the basest forms of criticisms of those on the other side. Supporters of photo identification requirements are too often derided as 'insensitive'; 'racist'; or part of some conscious conspiracy to suppress voters who may not support a particular party's candidates.

On the other hand, those who oppose voter identification laws are often accused of supporting cheating and fraud; lacking common sense or judgment; or being motivated by purely partisan political motives. For the elected state officials charged by their citizens with making these policy decisions, the considerations are very real. Ultimately, it is the best interests of the state -- and the people -- that truly motivate our elected officials.

I'd like to address one of the myths being discussed by the Committee today which has been hotly debated: does in-person voter fraud ever occur? Opponents of photo identification laws say that it does not; proponents say that it can and does occur.

In-person voter fraud does in fact occur and has occurred in the state of Georgia. Deceased voters have cast votes in Georgia elections. This is a fact. Analysis conducted by the Atlanta Journal-Constitution and WSB-TV found that more than 5,000 votes had been cast in the names of deceased voters over the past 20 years.

Georgia has also been the site of one of the largest voting fraud cases prosecuted in the country. A 1997 federal and state investigation in Dodge County led to the indictments of more than 20 local residents who were engaging in a vote-buying scheme for 2 local candidates.

It is also very important to recognize that in-person voter fraud may not even be evident until AFTER the election has occurred or is even certified. In-person voter fraud is a crime for which there are often no witnesses, and the victims may even be unaware that a crime has occurred.

Because of the nature of voter fraud and the difficulties in pursuing these cases states, are left with passing laws to address these issues proactively, meaning that they have to put laws and procedures in place to prevent fraud from occurring before it occurs.

In his ruling for the State of Georgia in the federal court challenge to the state's photo identification law, United States District Court Judge Harold T. Murphy, a President Jimmy Carter appointee to the bench, recognized the state's interest in passing a photo identification law to prevent fraud:

"Additionally, Plaintiffs have failed to demonstrate that the Photo ID requirement is not reasonably related to the State's interest in preventing fraud in voting."

In addition to arguing that in-person voter fraud does not occur and remedies like voter identification laws are unnecessary, opponents of photo identification requirements have long argued – quite vocally and emphatically – that these laws would lead to the disenfranchisement of, in Georgia’s case, hundreds-of-thousands of voters.

But, when the State of Georgia finally had its day in court and evidence was proffered and considered, it became clear that the emotional and hyperbolic arguments used to argue against the state’s photo identification law was simply empty rhetoric.

Judge Murphy also addressed this argument in his decision for the state:

“As the Rokita court noted, voters who lack Photo ID undoubtedly exist somewhere, but the fact that Plaintiffs, in spite of their efforts, have failed to uncover anyone “who can attest to the fact that he/she will be prevented from voting” provides significant support for a conclusion that the Photo ID requirement does not unduly burden the right to vote.”

Judge Murphy further stated “Plaintiffs have failed to produce any evidence of any individual ... who would undergo any appreciable hardship to obtain photo identification in order to be qualified to vote.”

The plaintiffs’ inability to produce a single voter who would be adversely impacted by the law should be a very important consideration for this Committee. Of the two individual plaintiffs named in the Common Cause case, one individual testified that she did not mind getting a photo identification and did not think it would be hard to get one, while the other’s lawyers drove him nearly 200 miles to testify at trial while at the same time arguing that traveling seven miles to his county registrar’s office, or voting by absentee ballot, was too great a burden.

In the three months after the September 2007 federal court challenge to the Georgia law was decided for the state, more than 100 Georgia counties and municipalities held elections with the photo identification law in place. All occurred without incident or legal challenge.

The first statewide test of the law occurred on February 5, 2008 with the administration of the Presidential Preference Primaries. Once again, photo identification opponents' inflammatory rhetoric was shown to be hollow and empty.

Turnout for the Presidential Preference Primaries surpassed expectations and set state records. Over 2,000,000 Georgians cast votes for their preferred nominee, while having to show a photo identification at the polls. For comparison purposes, this turnout represented a nearly 1,000,000 vote increase from 2004 and accounted for nearly 45% of the state's registered voters. There were nearly 100,000 more votes cast in the Democratic primary than the Republican primary, and turnout in the state's urban areas was also very high.

However, the most important statistic from the primaries is that of the more than 2,000,000 votes cast; only 409 voters did not possess photo identification at the time they came to vote in person. This represents a microscopic percentage of the votes cast, 0.02%.

That figure, however, was even further reduced. Under Georgia's photo identification law, voters who lack photo identification at the time of voting in-person are allowed to cast a provisional ballot. Voters then have two days to return to their local registrar's office to verify their identities and have their votes counted. Of the 409 voters who cast a provisional ballot in Georgia's Presidential Preference Primaries, 155 returned with photo identification to verify their identity. When the results of the election were certified, 0.01% of the voters were not able to have their ballots counted because they did not return to the registrar's office with one of the acceptable forms of identification.

In short, the predictions of mass disenfranchisement simply did not come to fruition. A very small number of voters showed up at the polls without a Photo ID and an even fewer number chose not to return with one in order to have their provisional votes cast, a decision for which no one knows the reason.

Opponents of the law argue that it is not simply the number of people who show up without an ID or fail to return to validate their ballots that count, but that the law discourages people from bothering to vote at all. The sheer turnout in Georgia on February 5 (and before, due to advance voting) itself casts doubt on that argument.

In addition to the huge turnout, Georgia also saw a substantial increase in voter registration in the six months prior to the primaries, particularly among minority voters. Registration among African American females increased by more than 20%, while registration among African American males increased by more than 14%.

Thus, while opponents have long contended that the laws would suppress turnout and participation, once again, the experiences in Georgia have proven those arguments to be untrue as well.

It is also important to acknowledge that these changes did not occur in a vacuum or that the state changed the law and simply hoped for the best. The Office of Georgia Secretary of State Karen C. Handel developed and implemented a voter education and outreach program to inform Georgia voters of the photo identification requirement.

This effort fulfilled a commitment that Secretary Handel made to Georgia voters when she took office in January 2007. As a strong and vocal supporter of photo identification laws, she also understands that the state has a responsibility to the voters to inform them about the law and to help them comply with it.

The education and outreach program included direct voter contacts by mail, public service announcements, and commercial radio advertising. In the six months before the primaries, Secretary Handel mailed and distributed more than 2 million brochures to voters and through churches, community groups, and non-governmental organizations. In addition, Georgia utilities and cable service providers provided invaluable help by including messages on customer bills and through newsletters and updates.

Consistent with the lack of negative impact that the photo identification law has had on Georgia voters, in the days leading to the primaries, the 1-800 phone number established by Secretary Handel to address potential questions by voters received more complaints about utility bills than questions about the photo identification requirements.

It is incumbent upon the Committee to consider that yes, there are myths concerning in-person voter fraud and photo identification laws. And then, there are facts. Contrary to what has been widely reported and what is likely to be heard in testimony today, the myths are from those who oppose photo identification laws and the facts are with those who have implemented them.

Our experiences in Georgia – much like those in Indiana – show that states can take real and meaningful steps to combat voter fraud by passing photo identification laws without disenfranchising our voters.

I would like to thank the Committee for giving me the opportunity today to testify and for taking the time to conduct a hearing on these very important issues.

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Exhibit 26

TESTIMONY OF J. GERALD HEBERT

Attorney at Law
Alexandria, VA 22304

before

TEXAS SENATE
COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE

March 10, 2009

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Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee:

Thank you for the opportunity to appear before you today and provide the views of the Campaign Legal Center on the subject of enacting a photo ID law in Texas.

My name is J. Gerald Hebert and I am a voting rights attorney. I spent over 20 years at the United States Department of Justice administering the Voting Rights Act, and I have taught courses on voting rights at Georgetown University Law Center in Washington, DC, and at the University of Virginia Law School.

Let's me start by making clear what's really going on today. Republicans in the Texas Senate are using their majority status to enact legislation that cannot be justified by urgency or need. It will make it harder for hundreds of thousands, if not millions, of Texans to vote. They have cast aside the bipartisan legislative tradition of requiring a 2/3 majority before taking up the issue so they can ramrod the voter

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ID bill down the throats of the minority. And they have done so even though implementation of a photo ID bill will cost the State of Texas millions of dollars to defend the measure before the Department of Justice and in federal courts, and then to implement and administer it if ever approved.

These are serious charges, and so I want to take a few minutes to make it clear on what I base them. The Voter Photo ID issue being considered is without policy substance. There is no widespread, organized or even occasional voter fraud in Texas that will be addressed by a photo ID. I have experience with this as I was the chief counsel in a federal lawsuit against the Texas Attorney General and the Texas Secretary of State challenging assertions of State officials that there was a voter fraud epidemic. Our lawsuit led Attorney General Greg Abbott to admit that persons he had prosecuted for what he called "voter fraud"—and they were with one exception all elderly black and Latino political activists, and all were Democrats—had not engaged in any fraudulent activity whatsoever.

The particular type of voter fraud this legislation is purported to address - voter impersonation - is virtually unheard of. Any examples are highly rare, very local and very, very limited in scope. The reason for this is that anyone who seeks to impersonate a voter is likely to be caught (because unlike mail-in ballot voter fraud there are eye witnesses to voter impersonation) and the penalty for doing so in Texas is a third degree felony which can mean significant jail time and a hefty fine. I have not seen a single circumstance of voter fraud that cannot be investigated and prosecuted using laws currently on the books.

There is considerable evidence, however, that enacting a Voter Photo ID bill will create a series of barriers making it harder for senior citizens, younger voters, poor people, people of color and women in general to exercise their right to vote. The fact that most if not all of these groups are growing as a percentage of the Texas voting population and tend to vote Democratic explains the urgency of the Republican leadership in pushing this bill. This effort is entirely about partisan politics and using

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power to protect power and marginalize the opposition. It is not about anything else.

Certainly the Republican members can choose to use their majority status to waste the tax dollars of hard working Texans during the short legislative session in this way. It is important, though, to realize that the path being taken and the methods used by the Republican have ramifications that extend beyond politics. What's at stake is much bigger than a Republican majority imposing its will on a Democratic minority. The path and method in enacting a photo ID bill are the latest in a long series of relentless attacks on the voting strength of minority citizens in the State of Texas- an attack on their basic rights protected which are protected by our Constitution and federal law.

Texas, along with the other Deep South States, has a long and dark history of using the election administrative process and election laws to single out and suppress minority voters. I don't have to recount the many instances from history to make this point. Dr. Chandler Davidson, a nationally recognized expert on

voting rights, has done so. Instead I can provide very recent examples involving the office of the current Attorney General Greg Abbott, who has used his office to manufacture and promote his false claims of voter fraud. These examples include:

- The creation of a mail ballot training manual that advised treating a mail ballot or application with a sickle cell stamp (which features the picture of an African-American woman holding her baby) as being an indicator of likely voter fraud.
- Sending investigators from the AG Abbott's office to the homes of minority senior citizens to peep through their windows (and in one instance to peep through their bathroom window) and then to hassle and interrogate them.
- Refusing to protect the rights of minority students to register and vote in Waller County, Texas. The situation got so bad in Waller County that the U.S. Justice Department had to step in last

year after two years of inaction by the Texas Attorney General who refused to act and protect the right to vote for hundreds of African-American students at the University.

- Targeting minority senior citizens for investigation of hyper-technical mistakes like helping their disabled neighbors vote by mailing a ballot for them and forgetting to sign the ballot envelope even though the envelope and mail-in ballot instructions contained no such warning and the envelope itself contained no place for a mailer to sign. And what was the reward for these minority senior citizens helping their shut in neighbors vote? They were indicted and prosecuted by Greg Abbott for what he called voter fraud even though the Attorney General never accused any of them of mis-marking a ballot, putting any pressure on anyone to vote a certain way, or otherwise engaging in any actions remotely fraudulent. To be sure, these actions by

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Attorney General Abbott were designed to intimidate senior citizens who have historically helped their neighbors and had their intended effects.

- When these minority citizens stood up for their rights and filed a lawsuit in federal court to challenge these actions by AG Greg Abbott, the state's former Solicitor General responded by issuing a press release insulting them, calling the people who filed the lawsuit to protect the right to vote criminals.
- And, just last week, we find that the Attorney General Abbott's office failed to comply with proper open records requests from Texas legislators who asked him for records about voter impersonation fraud, the so-called target of the photo ID bill.

These recent actions by the sitting Attorney General, along with the long history of minority vote suppression in Texas, should serve as an important warning to those of you preparing to vote on this legislation. As a

former DOJ official, I can assure you that these matters will certainly be important to Justice Department officials who will review this bill under the Voting Rights Act if it should pass.

For the State to consider enacting a bill affecting the fundamental right to vote, and utterly failing to provide reliable statistics showing who will be affected by the bill, is strong proof that state officials have failed to consider the Voting Rights Act implications of a photo ID bill. That will go a long way to dooming the bill's chances of approval when it is reviewed by the Justice Department. If this bill ever becomes law, given the history of vote suppression in Texas and the recent actions of your Attorney General carrying this scheme into the modern era, a Voter Photo ID requirement in Texas could prove to be an irresistible tool for those in positions of power here in Texas to suppress the vote of senior citizens, young people, women and minority citizens - all groups whose political judgment they fear. But one thing these voters have on their side and that is the simple truth that their voting rights are protected by federal law.

Additional testimony of J. Gerald Hebert on the subject of voter fraud and photo ID.

I want to provide additional details about voter fraud in Texas elections, prosecution of cases, and identification of other matters that will help guarantee that eligible voters are able to vote in Texas elections. As noted above, I spent over 20 years as a federal prosecutor in the U.S. Department of Justice, most of that time prosecuting cases that involved the right to vote. So hopefully my experiences will be of assistance to you as you study and make recommendations on these important matters.

At the outset, let me set out a few areas where legislators should be able to agree, regardless of party affiliation. First, legislators should recognize that the right to vote is a fundamental right. That right should not be burdened by either the federal government or the state government without heightened justification. Second, the US Congress and state legislatures across the country, in the wake of the Florida debacle from 2000, should be undertaking steps to guarantee the fairness and integrity of our nation's elections, which means protecting voters from interference and intimidation; insuring that our voting machines are safe, accurate and secure; and that the elections are held on a level playing field. Unfortunately, since 2000, legislators today seem even more intent on gaming the system than fixing it. Third, voter fraud is a crime and when it occurs, those who perpetrate it should be punished.

Some claim that voter fraud is epidemic. That is clearly not the case, as every single reputable study of the issue has found. Are there examples of voter fraud out there? Of course there are, but they remain fairly isolated instances, and that is true not just here in Texas, but across the country.

In Texas, an average of over 6 million votes has been cast in each General election since 1998. As of 2006, Texas Attorney General Greg Abbott's voter fraud task force had indicted only 13 individuals, involving fewer than 50 ballots, which represents less than one of every 230,000 ballots typically cast in Texas. Let's look at the numbers:

Ballots Cast in Texas Elections

Election Turnout

2008 General: 8,077,795

2006 General: 4,399,068

2004 General: 7,410,749

2002 General: 4,553,979

2000 General: 6,407,637

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Average Votes Cast in the Last 4 General Elections: 6,110,397

Ballots in Question in all the AG Abbott indictments as of 2008: 50

Percentage of Ballots in Question: 0.000007%

(Source: Secretary of State Election Returns, TX Attorney General Press Releases)

Let me add some additional specific comments about the 13 indictments that Attorney General Abbott secured. They did not involve massive, or even organized, voter fraud. In fact, 10 of Abbott's 13 indictments did not even allege that an individual voter was defrauded. In these 10 instances, Abbott prosecuted individuals who appear to have done little more than mistakenly help senior citizens by delivering already completed and sealed ballots to the post office or an elections administration office.

I was one of the attorneys in a lawsuit that challenged a number of Texas laws enacted in 2003, one of which makes it a crime merely to possess the mail-in ballot of another person. Thus, a nursing home worker who takes the mail into a disabled, elderly resident that happens to include that resident's mail-in ballot, has committed a crime under Texas law. Similarly, if a friend mails such a ballot for the resident, or perhaps a physically disabled home bound voter, that helper can also be prosecuted under Texas law.

Now you might ask: who would prosecute someone for simply helping a voter, particularly an elderly or physically disabled voter who is homebound? The answer is Attorney General Greg Abbott. You may be under the impression that surely someone who helps a voter would only be prosecuted if the helper engaged in some fraudulent activity, such as marking a ballot for another, or changing someone's vote. In other words, surely the helper would not be indicted for simply dropping the envelope in the mailbox at the request of a friend. You'd be wrong. As I noted above, 10 of the 13 persons were indicted and prosecuted merely for mailing the ballot of another voter. And yet in each instance when these persons were indicted for mailing someone else's ballot, Attorney General Abbott issued press releases claiming this was proof positive that Texas elections are rife with voter fraud. In fact, the only fraud was that being perpetrated on the Texas public by Texas Attorney General Greg Abbott, who was using these phony fraud charges to try and create the appearance of a voter fraud epidemic.

What is even more troubling about the 13 "voter fraud" indictments that Abbott and his minions secured is that virtually all of those prosecuted are African-American or Hispanic senior citizens with a Democratic voting history. Most of these cases involve very elderly or disabled voters who depend on trusted friends to help them vote, and without whose assistance, they would have no way to cast a ballot at all.

Here is a breakdown of Abbott's 13 Indictments:

Minorities Indicted: 12 (92%) (9 Hispanics, 3 African Americans)

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Democrats Indicted: 13 (100%)

(Source: TX Attorney General Press Releases and Secretary of State Voting Records)

Just before the 2006 elections, Abbott's agents went so far as to "peep" into the window of one of my clients, Ms. Gloria Meeks, an elderly African American Fort Worth woman, while she was stepping out of the shower. Ms. Meeks had been a local community activist who often assisted friends and neighbors with many tasks including applying for a mail ballot. (Source: Fort Worth Star-Telegram, September 22, 2006). Ms. Meeks was never formally charged, or even officially accused of any wrong doing, but Abbott's agents went to her home to "investigate" possible voter fraud. Following the "peeping" incident by Greg Abbott's investigators and other harassing actions by Abbott's agents, Ms. Meeks fell ill. She later suffered a severed stroke and has never fully recovered.

Despite what appear to be cases of victimless errors by well-meaning citizens, Abbott has diligently sought press and political attention to take credit for these prosecutions.

- Abbott has established a political online activist group called "Abbott's Army" and repeatedly bragged to them about his efforts to prosecute mail ballot community activists.
- Abbott's official office has issued dozens of self-congratulatory press releases paid for with taxpayer funds and then posted them word-for-word on his campaign website.

(Source: Texans for Greg Abbott website).

It should also be of concern to you that Attorney General Abbott and Governor Rick Perry are using federal grant funds (called Byrne grant money¹) to operate this voter fraud unit. Attorney General Abbott has applied for and received over \$2 million in federal funds that should be used to prosecute child predators or catch online thieves. (Source: Attorney General Grant Application Forms).

One has to ask why no Anglos (save one) or Republicans have been indicted by Texas' Republican Attorney General for merely mailing ballots? After all, the practice of assisting elderly disabled voters in Texas has been around for years throughout the state. What is especially troubling is that while Greg Abbott's office has prosecuted minority seniors and Democratic activists for simply mailing ballots, he has not prosecuted anyone on the other side of the aisle for what appear to be open and shut cases of real voter fraud.

Take, for example, the situation in Highland Park, an area of Dallas County, Texas.

¹ According to the Department of Justice website, "the Edward Byrne Memorial State and Local Law Enforcement Assistance Grant Program (Byrne Formula Grant Program) is a partnership among federal, state, and local governments to create safer communities." These grants are "for use by states and units of local government to improve the functioning of the criminal justice system—with emphasis on violent crime and serious offenders—and enforce state and local laws that establish offenses similar to those in the federal Controlled Substances Act (21 U.S.C. 802(6) et seq.)." (emphasis added).

Highland Park is one of the wealthiest neighborhoods in the country with over 500 houses valued at over \$1 million and is a GOP stronghold, voting overwhelmingly for George Bush in 2004. (*Census Bureau, Secretary of State records*). Both George W. Bush and Dick Cheney lived in Highland Park prior to the 2000 election. (*Houston Chronicle, 12/9/2006 and Dallas Morning News 5/12/2006*).

A November 21, 2005 memo written by Dallas Assistant Criminal District Attorney, Ben Stool, details that Republican precinct election officials and Republican County Judge Margaret Kelleher participated in improper election activities that resulted in the mishandling of over 100 ballots in Highland Park. Prosecutor Stool's memo directly called on the Texas Attorney General to investigate the complaint and plainly states that an investigation may produce evidence to bring criminal prosecution against the sitting Republican County Judge and the presiding Republican Election Judge. Excerpts from the Assistant DA Stool's memo, email correspondence and news accounts on this matter include the following:

"I believe that a criminal investigation may produce sufficient evidence to bring a criminal prosecution against the County Judge [Margaret Kelleher] and/or Election Judge Jim Hairston for incidents occurring at the polling place at Highland Park Middle School during the 2005 Constitutional Election." (Dallas Assistant Criminal District Attorney Memo November 21, 2005)

"A boy who appeared to be about 10 years old went down that line passing out ballots. Some people took more than one and filed them out....no one checked voter registration cards or identification." (Dallas Morning News 11/10/2005)

"The emails, news articles and fax that I already have indicate that the County Judge and/or Election Judge may have unlawfully permitted many ineligible voters to vote." (Dallas Assistant Criminal District Attorney Memo November 21, 2005)

"It appears he [the Election Judge] ordered or permitted others to hand out regular ballots to voters without those voters presenting voter registration certificates." (Dallas Assistant Criminal District Attorney Memo November 21, 2005)

The County Judge [Margaret Kelleher] may have directed the Election Judge or his clerks to hand out regular ballots to voters without requiring the voters to go through the basic required procedures." (Dallas Assistant Criminal District Attorney Memo November 21, 2005)

Bruce Sherbet, the Elections Administrator, informed me that over 100 more ballots were cast at this particular polling place than there were signatures on the roster." (Dallas Assistant Criminal District Attorney Memo November 21, 2005)

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Here we are more than 3 and a ½ years later and Attorney General Abbott's office has done virtually nothing. Inexplicably, Abbott's office sent a letter to the Secretary of State (SOS) in January 2006 "for evaluation of as potential criminal prosecution." This was clearly a stalling tactic because the Attorney General is the office that evaluates criminal prosecutions. Indeed, the Texas SOS just a month later returned the matter to the Attorney General's office "requesting assistance in reviewing an allegation of criminal activity in connection with November 8, 2005." It appears nothing has happened since that time. It also seems as if neither the Texas AG nor the Texas Secretary of State have issued any findings or taken any action on the Highland Park incidents.

As noted earlier, rather than exercise his discretion to act directly on the DA's request and immediately investigate the voting irregularities and potential voter fraud in Highland Park, Mr. Abbott's office has instead used his office's resources to prosecute elderly political activists whose only "crime" was assisting elderly and disabled voters cast a vote by mail. One can only conclude that Greg Abbott is using the official resources of the State of Texas to relentlessly pursue and prosecute minorities and Democrats who may have unknowingly violated a narrow, flawed and controversial provision in Texas law. None of the ten persons prosecuted have been charged with or admitted to defrauding a single voter. At the same time, Abbott's office has failed to seek prosecution of a single Republican or any individual involved with Republican election activities, even after being provided clear evidence that Republican office holders and Republican election officials engaged in improper activities that may have involved 100 or more ballots.

The Heflin v. Vo election of 2004:

It is fairly common when one candidate loses to another in a close election for the losing candidate, or the attorney for the losing candidate, to claim voter fraud as the reason for the defeat. In this election for state representative, Heflin lost the election in a very close election. Initial vote counts showed Vo, the Democratic candidate, had beaten Heflin by just 32 votes out of over 41,000 cast in that election.

Immediately, Heflin's attorney, Andy Taylor (who once worked in the office of the Texas Attorney General) started the drumbeat of alleged voter fraud: "Heflin's attorney, Andy Taylor, said the election results in state House District 149 in southwest Harris County were fraught with voting irregularities and potential fraud, most of which occurred in predominantly Democratic precincts." *Houston Chronicle*, November 24, 2004, page 1B. Following an exhaustive investigation during an election contest brought by Heflin in the Texas House of Representatives, the special Master found that "there was no evidence of voter fraud generated by or for any candidate in this race." Report and Findings of Master of discovery to select Committee on election Contests, February 7, 2005. Significantly, the report did find that some voters' registration records had been changed within the offices of the Harris County voter registration office resulting in the voter being "deported" to a new district, but no evidence was presented where any voter engaged in any intentional fraudulent activity.

In my experience, that is typically the case. Most voters want to get to the polls, cast a ballot, and do so without having to wait in a long line. Some officials claim that thousands of non-citizens are voting in Texas elections. Allegations of non-citizen voting are widespread, but actually proof of this happening is virtually nonexistent.

I know of only a handful of non-citizens voting in a Texas election. One was in the Heflin-Vo race described above. In that election, according to the Master's Report, a citizen of Norway submitted a voter registration application to the Harris County elections office and on his application he indicated he was a non-citizen. The Harris county elections office sent him a voter registration card and he cast a ballot in the 2004 election. During the election contest, he testified he voted a straight Republican ticket and his vote (for Heflin) was declared illegal.

I am aware of only three other non-citizens who voted illegally in Texas, and that was in Calhoun County. According to the Attorney General's website, a candidate for justice of the peace visited non-citizens in the county and helped them register to vote, indicating to them that they only needed a driver's license to become registered to vote. The candidate reportedly "filled out the portion of the registration application inquiring of citizenship and affirmatively marked that these residents were citizens." The candidate then mailed the voter registration applications and according to the Texas Attorney General, "three of these ineligible voters did cast ballots". The candidate was prosecuted and sentenced to five years in prison. What is important about this case are the following: none of the non-citizens attempted to register illegally on their own and they apparently voted based on the incorrect advice of the candidate. Moreover, since each of the non-citizens apparently had a driver's license, a voter ID law would not have stopped this type of mail-in voter fraud. And last, the current laws were effective in dealing with this issue. In other words, the system appears to have worked in this highly isolated instance of actual voter fraud.

The Texas Secretary of State's office acknowledged that it has no hard evidence of voting by non-citizens, and it is reasonable to think that office would have such information, if it exists.

Of course, it is possible that persons identified as non-citizens may end up on the voter registration rolls. But that is a far cry from whether such persons ever actually cast a ballot. Moreover, if a citizen inadvertently checks off non-citizen on a jury selection notice, that voter may be incorrectly removed from the voter registration rolls. And if they had voted in a prior election, that would not be evidence of non-citizen voting. Further, if a citizen checks off non-citizen on a jury selection notice in order to avoid jury duty, that person is removed from the voter rolls as a non-citizen, even though they may in fact be a citizen. So one has to be very precise in making claims about non-citizens voting, and it is essential to distinguish between non-citizens on the voter rolls and those actually voting.

Lieutenant Governor David Dewhurst is one example of a top state official who commits this error. He has falsely said thousands of non-citizens are voting in Texas elections,

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and then cites statistics reporting non-citizens who are alleged to be on the voter rolls, without any proof that such persons have voted.

In any event, even if non-citizens do appear on the voter registration rolls, there appears to be a procedure in place here in Texas that allows voting officials to use returned jury selection notices to identify persons who have self-identified themselves as non-citizens and remove such persons from the rolls.

Let me conclude with some observations about the voter ID issue here in Texas. It is important to note that all of the so-called vote prosecutions in Texas have involved voting by mail. To my knowledge, not a single person in Texas has been prosecuted for voter impersonation *at the polls* in the last 20 years. Instead, it is simply assumed that this could happen and thus a voter ID should be enacted to prevent it. There are several problems with this theory. First, there are already laws on the books that make it a crime to impersonate another voter and cast a ballot in that voter's name. That could explain why there is no proof of it happening. Second, someone intent on stealing an election is more likely going to engage in a more sophisticated and broader form of fraud, such as programming voting machines or altering vote totals, or changing voter registration forms at the Registrar's office (as appears to have happened in 2004 in Harris County). In other words, the most likely perpetrators of vote fraud are not voters, but election officials or those who have access to voting records or voting machines. Here again, there are laws on the books that make it a crime to tamper with vote machines or altering election results or documents. No voter ID law will prevent such abuses from occurring.

Republicans in Texas claim they need a voter ID bill to combat voter impersonation fraud (even though none exists). Lieutenant Governor Dewhurst claimed such a bill was needed to protect one-person, one vote principles. Presumably, he means that illegal votes shouldn't cancel out legal votes. Of course, nearly everyone agrees with that concept but the real problem is that the voter ID bill would do nothing to combat the few instances of voter fraud that have occurred in Texas—cases like Starr County where it is alleged several people applied for mail in ballots at allegedly fictitious addresses. No voter ID bill would have blocked such fraud.

If Republicans like Greg Abbott and David Dewhurst were truly interested in preserving the voting rights of Texans, they would scream bloody murder and prosecute those who perpetrate voter intimidation tactics and harassment of minority voters. Unfortunately, however, their political party has been involved in this vote suppression effort for years, particularly at the national level. Indeed, vote caging has been the vote suppression weapon of choice for the GOP for many years. That's the area where we need a legislative fix, to protect voters from being the victims of racially or ethnically targeted vote caging schemes. And I am pleased that United States Senator Whitehouse is introducing a bill to do just that.

In conclusion, there is a fraud being perpetrated on Texas voters, but it's not what you think. It is being perpetrated on Texas voters by Attorney General Greg Abbott, Lieutenant Governor David Dewhurst, and others who claim that voter fraud in Texas has

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reached epidemic proportions. Their false and unsubstantiated claims are the real fraud, and your enactment of a photo ID bill will have no impact on the only real fraud going on here in the Lone Star state.

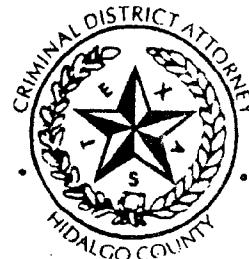
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RENE GUERRA

March 6, 2009



To the Senate Committee-of-the-Whole, Voter Identification Legislation:

Allegations of a few cases of voter impersonation occurring in Hidalgo County during 2008 came to my attention on Thursday, March 5, 2009, by several members and staff members in the Texas Legislature. Apparently they were obtained from the Texas Secretary of State's Office, who along with the Office of the Attorney General, have been in possession of this evidence for a time.

Without discussing the details of allegations currently pending, I can tell you that I believe that if there is a problem with compliance with the law, it lies more in the quality of the administration of elections, than in law itself.

The irregularities we have seen occur mostly in non-partisan local elections of small governmental entities such as school districts, water districts, and municipalities, some of which decline to contract the administration of their elections to the County election administrators office. This has in the past led to questions.

If I were to recommend an amendment to the Texas Election Code, it would not be to increase burdens placed on honest voters attempting to cast their ballots, but instead to further professionalize the administration of elections by requiring small governmental entities to contract with their county's elections administrator, instead of administering those elections themselves.

Further, I would require the Secretary of State, and/or the Office of Attorney General, to very quickly forward to local District or County Attorneys the irregularities of which they have credible evidence, so that we can investigate those incidents, and prosecute them when the evidence suggests a violation of the law.

Thank you very much for the opportunity to share my views.

Respectfully Yours,

**Rene Guerra
Criminal District Attorney
Hidalgo County, Texas**

HIDALGO COUNTY COURTHOUSE - 100 N. CLOSNER, ROOM 303 - EDINBURG, TEXAS 78539 - (956) 318-2300 - FAX (956) 318-2301

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OFFICE OF THE INDIANA SECRETARY OF STATE

March 4, 2009

Senator Troy Fraser
The Senate of the State of Texas

Re: Senate Bill 362

Honorable Senators:

At the invitation of Senator Fraser, I would like to share with you Indiana's experiences with regard to our photo ID voting requirement.

As my state's Chief Election Officer, during last fall's unprecedented General Election, in which Indiana played an unexpected national role as a hotly contested battleground state it felt at times as if I were running an election under siege. Before the close of voter registration in October, it was revealed that the ACORN organization had submitted thousands of bogus voter registration applications to voter registration offices in certain Indiana counties. One of the most populated counties in the state had some 90,000 inactive voters its election board refused to remove from the roles. Voter registration rates in some counties exceeded 100% of the estimated voting eligible population. And the Social Security Administration interfered with our new voter registration verification process by shutting off its databases four weeks prior to the November election – reportedly for “routine” system maintenance.

In spite of these potential obstacles to an accurate and fair election, I could not have been more confident of the outcome of our election because of Indiana's Photo ID law.

Indiana's 2005 law requires that all Indiana residents present photo ID before casting a ballot in person at the polls on Election Day. The photo ID must meet 4 criteria to be acceptable for voting purposes.

The ID must:

- Be issued by the State of Indiana or the U.S. government
- Display the voter's photo
- Display an expiration date – that is either current or expired no earlier than the date of the last General Election.
- Display the voter's name – such that it reasonably conforms with the name on the voter registration record (poll book).

Voters with limited incomes, religious objections to having their photos taken, and those who forget to bring adequate identification to the polls may cast a provisional in-person ballot – which must then be verified at the county clerk's office within 10 days following the election.

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- ✓ Signage at all Bureau of Motor Vehicle facilities.
- ✓ Major political parties.
- ✓ League of Women Voters.
- ✓ Department of Health – via a mailing to all nursing facilities.
- ✓ All 107 county offices of Indiana's Family and Social Services Agency.
- ✓ Most colleges and universities through student body e-mail distribution.
- ✓ Many, many others.

Statistics show that voter turnout has increased since the law was enacted.¹

In May 2008, Indiana experienced one of its highest turnouts ever for a Primary Election. Turnout increased from 21 percent in the 2004 Primary to around 40 percent for the 2008 Primary. 76 percent of the participants took part in the Democratic Presidential Primary. Up from just 40 percent who voted in the Democratic Presidential Primary in 2004.

Of the more than 1,300 calls my office took that day from voters, only two related to enforcement of Indiana's photo ID law – neither demonstrating that someone was shut out from voting. There were no statewide election contests or recounts! In spite of close contests in both the Presidential Primary and the Gubernatorial Primary election.

In November 2008, Indiana once again experienced very high turnout. Turnout increased by over 300,000 voters when compared to the 2004 general election. Additionally, for the first time since 1964, the Democratic Presidential candidate won Indiana's electoral votes. Over the course of 2008, there were well over 345,000 newly registered voters and over 800,000 new or updated registration records.

Opponents of the notion that voters should identify themselves have yet to identify a single individual who has experienced a violation of his or her right to vote, or been unable to vote due to Indiana's photo ID law. Indiana's experience in 2008 demonstrated that our photo ID requirement does not act as a deterrent to participation. What our photo ID law does do however is wisely use modern-day technology to improve the integrity in our elections.

Thank you.

/S/

Todd Rokita,
Indiana Secretary of State

¹ Jeffrey Milyo, professor of economics and public affairs at the University of Missouri noted that overall voter turnout in Indiana actually increased after the implementation of photo ID. His study evaluated the effects of photo identification requirements by comparing county-level turnout in Indiana in the 2002 and 2006 mid-term elections.

Exhibit 29

**Testimony of Chandler Davidson,
Tsanoff Professor of Public Affairs Emeritus
Rice University,
Before the Texas Senate
Concerning Senate Bill 362
("Photo ID Bill")
10 March 2009**

THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF SENATE BILL 362

**By
Chandler Davidson**

ABSTRACT

Senate Bill 362, from the viewpoint of many scholars of voting rights, raises issues with deep historical reverberations. Specifically, the burdens of money and time the proposed Texas photo ID requirement imposes on the less well-off (disproportionately black and Latino), the elderly, and the disabled, resemble the costs borne by blacks, Latinos, and poor whites following Reconstruction when southern Democratic lawmakers imposed literacy tests, poll taxes, and other restrictive devices (usually, they alleged, to prevent vote fraud) which they described in terms of "progressive government" but which in actuality were designed to prevent Republicans and Populists from voting.

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The issue before the Texas Senate is whether Senate Bill 362 requiring voters to show a photo ID at the polling place in order to cast a ballot is justifiable. Opponents argue that it works an unfair hardship on many citizens who would not have the government-issued documents that count as a legitimate ID. They argued that the law, in effect, constitutes a poll tax, inasmuch as there are costs to obtain the required photo ID, costs that unduly burden many eligible citizens wanting to exercise their right to vote.

Given the long history of legally sanctioned disfranchisement of large and disparate groups of citizens, from the founding of the Republic to the recent past, the case raises important questions to scholars of voting rights. Indeed, the bill brings to mind events during the half-century following the Civil War,¹ when the language of “progressive reform” cloaked the disfranchisement of blacks and poor whites in the South—those most likely to vote for Republican or Populist candidates. Actually adopted for partisan and racially discriminatory purposes, these laws were often presented as high-minded attacks on fraud—efforts to “purify” the electorate that would only inconvenience “vote sellers” or the ignorant and “shiftless.” (Kousser, 1974)

To be sure, unlike today, when proponents of voter photo identification must strain mightily to find the rarest examples of fraud, particularly in-person voter fraud at the polls, in the nineteenth century there was widespread fraud. However, this was often committed against African Americans and the Republican party to which they then overwhelmingly adhered. Louisiana Senator and former Governor Samuel D. McEnery stated in 1898 that his state’s 1882 election law “was intended to make it the duty of the governor to treat the law as a formality and count in the Democrats.” (*New Orleans*

¹ For a trenchant summary of this period, see Franklin and Moss, Jr., 1988, Chap. XIII.

Daily Picayune Feb. 30, 1898) A leader of the 1890 Mississippi constitutional convention admitted that “it is no secret that there has not been a full vote and a fair count in Mississippi since 1875,” which was the last year until 1967 in which blacks voted at all freely in the state. (Wharton 1947, 206) Nonetheless, these same Democrats invoked the language of reform in calling for a wide range of restrictions on the suffrage: registration acts, poll taxes, literacy and property tests, “understanding” qualifications, and white primaries, among others.

Between 1889 and 1913, for example, nine states outside the South made the ability to read English a prerequisite for voting. (Phillips 1906, 55-62; McCulloch 1929, 54-58) Literacy tests were said to reduce the influence of immigrants or African Americans who supported “bosses” and “demagogues.” (McCook 1892, 171-6; Commons 1920, 183, 195) Moreover, between 1890 and 1908, seven of the eleven ex-Confederate states adopted state constitutional amendments allowing only literate voters or those with a certain amount of property to vote. There were sometimes loopholes like “understanding” qualifications or “grandfather” clauses that allowed some whites to vote who could not meet literacy or property tests. Shortly after passage of these amendments, fewer than 10 percent of African Americans managed to register to vote in most states, and no more than 15 percent in any. (Kousser 1974, 60-1.)

The poll tax was one of the most notorious disfranchising mechanisms of its day. The current debate over Senate Bill 362—as well as similar bills in other states—has led to claims that they are a “modern-day poll tax.” This implies that the Texas bill, too, falls within the ignominious American tradition of disfranchising laws passed under the guise of “good government” reform.

Frederick Ogden, perhaps the foremost scholar of the poll tax, wrote in the 1950s: “While critics of legalized restrictions on Negro voting may find it hard to discover any high moral tone in such activities, these restrictions reflected a movement for purifying the electoral process in southern states.” Ogden quotes the editor of the *San Antonio Express* writing in 1902: “By requiring a poll tax receipt, secured six months previous to an election, fraudulent elections can be prevented almost entirely.” (Ogden 1958, 9-10.)

The most accessible photo ID required by bill 362 probably consists of the state’s driver’s license. Obtaining one has been shown in other states to be a good deal more difficult for some people than it might seem at first glance. For example, at least 43,000 persons of voting age in Indiana are estimated to have neither a driver’s license or the other most likely form of photo ID in that state. (Indiana Democratic Party, *et al.*, 12-17) The number in Texas would probably be significantly greater. DVM sites are often difficult for a non-driver to get to.

The demographic characteristics of persons lacking the requisite ID are suggested by a November 2006 telephone survey of 987 randomly selected voting-age American citizens by the independent Opinion Research Corporation conducted for the Brennan Center for Justice at NYU School of Law. Eleven percent did not have valid government-issued photo ID, while 18 percent of citizens 65 years of age or older lacked it, as did 25 percent of African Americans. (Brennan Center for Justice 2006, 3)² The latter two demographic groups, the elderly and African Americans, are more likely to self-identify as Democrats—African-Americans disproportionately so.³ Elderly African

² These figures have a margin of error ranging from $\pm 2\%$ to $\pm 8\%$.

³ For both African Americans and senior citizens, see <http://people-press.org/commentary/pdf/95.pdf>, 3; for senior citizens only, see <http://pewresearch.org/pubs/27/politics-and-the-dotnet-generation>. Partisan self-identification, of course, is not the sole determinant of one’s voting choice.

Americans, who are even more unlikely than members of their ethnic group in general to have a photo ID, would be strongly predisposed to vote Democratic. In close elections, the additional burdens placed on both the elderly and African Americans by the photo ID law could help elect Republican candidates. There is no reason to believe this national pattern is much different from that in Texas.

Nonetheless, it is often asserted that such barriers should not prevent a truly motivated citizen from voting. In a classic article by Kelley, Ayres, and Bowen (1967, 359, 375) attempting to measure determinants of voter turnout, the authors make the following observation:

A frequent objection to such efforts [to get out the vote] is that voters not interested enough to vote are not apt to vote wisely and so should be left alone. This view recalls the statement of a New York voter regarding the adequacy of the facilities for registering in New York City in 1964: "I sure do want to vote against that man . . . but I don't think I hate him enough to stand on that line all day long." How much interest should a voter have to qualify him for voting? Enough to stand in line all day? For half a day? For two days? We cannot say, but those who think voting should be limited to the "interested" ought to be prepared to do so.

Their question, posed in terms of the burden of time alone, can also be posed with regard to money: particularly concerning the least well off, how large a monetary imposition should be placed on the right to vote before it becomes the functional equivalent of a poll tax? Regarding these twin burdens, two questions may be posed to help determine whether Texas Senate Bill 362 should be interpreted according to the "good government" language of its proponents: *First*, how will the application of the law help shape the Texas electorate "to a size and composition deemed desirable by those in power," as Kelley *et al.* put it? In other words, to what extent is the law motivated by partisan efforts to disfranchise voters who are undesirable to Republicans and thus

increase their chances of winning elections? *Second*, do supporters of the bill demonstrate a significant degree of fraud of the kind the law was fashioned to prevent? Let us consider each question in turn.

While it is impossible to know the motives of those lawmakers who support Senate Bill 362, we can reasonably predict whether it will pass by a partisan vote. Significantly, the bill is quite similar to at least ten bills introduced by Republicans in state legislatures between 2005 and 2007 requiring voters to show a photo ID at the polls. If the house and senate votes for all ten proposals are combined, *95.3 percent* of the 1,222 Republicans voting and *2.1 percent* of the 796 Democrats voting supported the bills. Moreover, in the five cases in which both houses passed a bill and a Republican was governor, he signed it. In the three cases in which both houses passed a bill and a Democrat was governor, he vetoed it. (In two cases, only one house passed a bill.)⁴ An eleventh bill which became law in Indiana in 2005 was part of this pattern, although even more extreme. In the vote on Senate Bill 483, 85 Republicans voted for it and none against; 62 Democrats voted against it and none in favor. The Republican governor signed the bill into law. (Indiana Democratic Party, *et al.*, Brief, 9)

Did supporters of these photo ID bills demonstrate that there is a significant degree of fraud of the kind the bills were fashioned to prevent? The popular debate over the extent and kind of vote fraud that exists in the United States today has been widespread and acerbic at least since the 2000 presidential election, and it shows no signs of abating. There are numerous kinds of vote fraud, and distinctions among them—

⁴ These unpublished data were obtained by the Brennan Center for Justice at NYU and provided by Justin Levitt at the Center. They are based on the recorded votes for the following ten voter ID bills: *Enacted*: H.B. 244 (GA 2005) (enjoined); S.B. 84 (GA 2006); H.B. 1567 (FL 2005); SB 483 (IN 2005); SB 1014 (MO 2006) (enjoined). *Failed*: HB 2019 (KS 2007); HB 345 (NH 2006); HB 1318 (PA 2006); HB 218 (TX 2007); SB 42 (WI 2005).

which are necessary to determine the most effective means of their prevention—are often lost in popular debate. As critics of the Indiana law (and Texas S.B. 362) have asserted, the photo ID requirement was implemented to prevent one type of fraud: voter impersonation at the polls on Election Day. (Indiana Democratic Party, *et al.*, 42) Among the many kinds it does not prevent is that involving mail-in ballots, which some believe to be more common than impersonation at the polls. (Indiana Democratic Party, *et al.*, 45-47) What makes the statute particularly suspect in the case of Indiana is the fact that there has not been a single prosecution for in-person vote fraud in the history of the state—a fact that Richard Posner, judge on the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit, author of that court’s split decision favoring Indiana, attributed to lax law enforcement. (*William Crawford v. Marion County Election Board*, U.S. Court of Appeals 2007, 7)

In Texas, too, Senate Bill 362 is designed solely to prevent voter impersonation at the polls. In both 2005 and 2007 Republicans in the legislature introduced photo ID bills. (Vertuno 2005, 8A; *Economist* 2007) In 2007, according to a newspaper reporter: “Republicans like the voter ID bill because they believe it will weaken Democrats, but can argue that it is a reasonable requirement” because it would prevent vote fraud. (Mack 2007) Not all Republicans, however, shared the belief that it would curtail fraud. Royal Masset, former political director of the Texas Republican Party, was one. He told the reporter he agreed that among his fellow Republicans it was “an article of religious faith that voter fraud is causing us to lose elections.” He was not convinced. He did believe, however, that requiring photo IDs could cause enough of a drop-off in legitimate Democratic voting to add 3 percent to the Republican vote. (Mack 2007)

In January 2006, after his party's first failure to pass a photo ID bill, Greg Abbott, the Republican attorney general of Texas, announced a "training initiative to identify, prosecute [and] prevent voter fraud." (Attorney General 2007) This was the most ambitious and costly effort in modern Texas history—perhaps ever—by the state's government to attack the alleged problem. "Vote fraud has been an epidemic in Texas for years, but it hasn't been treated like one," Abbott said. "It's time for that to change." (Attorney General 2007) He promised that his newly created Special Investigations Unit (SIU) would "help police departments, sheriff's offices, and district and county attorneys successfully identify, investigate and prosecute various types of voter fraud offences." Established with a \$1.5 million grant from the governor's office, the SIU would have as one of its prime responsibilities investigating voter fraud allegations, he said. Abbott targeted 44 counties containing 78 percent of registered voters in the state. (Attorney General 2007) According to the *Austin American-Statesman*, "Complaints originate from voting officials, district attorneys or citizens and are sent to the secretary of state or the attorney general. Each complaint is evaluated by a professional employee to determine whether the complaint is legitimate and warrants further investigation." (Editorial Board 2007)

Such an initiative would seem to constitute a model of the aggressive, responsible, multi-level law enforcement effort that Judge Posner implied had been lacking in Indiana. Moreover, given Republicans' desire to provide evidence of widespread voter fraud in order to justify new statutes criticized by Democrats and some media sources, one would expect Abbott to have conducted the effort with enthusiasm. What has been the result of his vote fraud initiative?

Texas is a large state, with thousands of elections occurring in a four-year period in its numerous governmental units. In 2008, there were 17.7 million persons of voting age, and of those, more than 13.6 million were registered to vote. (Texas Secretary of State 2009) An anti-immigration organization estimated that 1.7 million Texas inhabitants resided there illegally in 2007. (FAIR 2007) In the November 2008 presidential alone, over 13.6 million Texans were registered and over 8 million votes were cast. (Texas Secretary of State 2009) Given these facts, one would expect an aggressive, centralized vote-fraud initiative by the state's highest law-enforcement officer to yield a sizable number of indictments during the more than fifty months of its existence if, in fact, vote fraud had reached "epidemic" proportions.

The data presented by Attorney General Abbot on his Web site tell a different story. In the four years between January 25, 2006, the day the initiative was announced, and March 6, 2009, 26 people had been *indicted* for vote fraud. A mere 5 persons in this same period had been *convicted* of one or more counts of vote fraud, and 2 of those 5 convictions were of people who had committed the fraud before January 2006. In short, of the 26 people indicted over the three-year period since General Abbott's initiative was announced, only 3 have so far been convicted. Most of the indictments concern older women who handled write-in ballots for elderly or disabled friends, some apparently unaware of a law passed in 2003 requiring those rendering such aid to sign the envelope containing the friend's ballot before mailing it.⁵ Perhaps the most amazing aspect of this record is not the paucity of indictments or convictions but the fact that *none of the types of vote fraud committed or alleged would have been prevented by the photo ID*

⁵ These data were culled from the press releases on the Texas Attorney General's Web site between 25 Jan. 2006 and 4 Mar. 2009 <http://www.oag.state.tx.us/oagnews/>. Repeated calls to the Attorney General's office regarding the status of his vote fraud initiative in late October, 2007, were not returned.

requirement advocated by Republicans in the 2005, 2007, or 2009 legislative sessions.

That is to say, none involved voter impersonation at the polls.

These data do not appear to be anomalous. A survey of the director or deputy director of all 88 Ohio boards of election in June 2005 found that a total of only 4 votes cast in the state's general elections in 2002 and 2004 (in which over 9 million votes were cast) were judged ineligible and thus likely constituted actual voter fraud.

(COHHIO/LWVO 2005) Interviews by *New York Times* reporters with election law enforcement officials and academic experts suggest that the pattern in Ohio is typical. Professor Richard L. Hasen, an election law expert at Loyola Law School, summed up knowledgeable opinion about vote fraud to the reporters as follows: "[W]hat we see is isolated, small-scale activities that often have not shown any kind of criminal intent."

(Lipton and Urbina 2007)

The most intensive research to date on contemporary voter fraud in the United States has been conducted by political scientist Lorraine Minnite of Barnard College.

She summarizes her findings thus:

No available evidence suggests that voters are intentionally corrupting the electoral process, let alone in numbers that dilute and cancel out "the lawful votes of the vast majority of Americans." The lack of evidence is not due to a failure to codify voter fraud as a crime, nor is it due to the inability or unwillingness of local law enforcement agencies to investigate or prosecute potential cases of voter fraud. In fact, when we probe most allegations of voter fraud we find errors, incompetence and partisanship. The exaggerated fear of voter fraud has a long history of scuttling efforts to make voting easier and more inclusive, especially for marginalized groups in American society. With renewed partisan vigor fantasies of fraud are being spun again to undo some of the progress America has made lowering barriers to the vote. (Minnite 2007)

While it is possible, as Judge Posner implied in his Seventh Circuit decision, that aggressive vote-fraud enforcement in Indiana might uncover its existence in that state, the Texas investigation suggests otherwise, and the burden of proof rests on those who allege that in-person voter fraud in Texas, Indiana, or any other state is widespread and of the kind that is deterred by a photo ID requirement. Until that burden is responsibly shouldered by state authorities, the question whether Texas Senate Bill 362 would accomplish its ostensible purpose must be answered in the negative. When this conclusion is placed alongside the fact that the previous legislative votes for a Texas photo ID bill were almost entirely along partisan lines and that the people most likely to be disfranchised by it would be Democratic voters—particularly African Americans and Latinos, as well as lower-income, elderly, and disabled citizens—Texas Senate Bill 362 appears to fit comfortably within the long and unsavory history of those in positions of power disfranchising the above populations for partisan gain. Moreover, Texas Republicans' attempted justifications of the bill with claims of voter fraud are at least as dubious as those which attempted to justify the now unconstitutional poll tax at the turn of the Twentieth Century.

A great deal of progress has been made over the past fifty years in combating discrimination in electoral politics, thanks in part to such epochal events as passage of the Twenty-fourth Amendment and the Voting Rights Act. However, race, class, and partisanship continue to be inextricably intertwined in the United States, just as they were from the end of Reconstruction to the Civil Rights Era. The current Texas voter ID bill, if the above analysis is correct, is an excellent example of this fact.

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These search terms are highlighted: **march 2006 epidemic of voter fraud**

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Weekly AG Columns - March 2006

- [Helping Stamp Out Voter Fraud in Texas](#)
- [Guard Against Credit Card Abuse: Check Your Receipts](#)
- [How the AG Helps Parents Meet Their Children's Medical Needs](#)
- [Child Support Evader: Ronnie Lynn Lawson](#)

Helping Stamp Out Voter Fraud in Texas

By Greg Abbott
Attorney General of Texas

In Texas, an **epidemic of voter fraud** is harming the electoral process and it's time we rooted it out.

Of course, voter fraud is no newcomer to the Lone Star State. Six decades ago, the votes "found" in Jim Wells County's infamous Ballot Box 13 helped Lyndon Johnson squeak into the U.S. Senate. Maybe none quite so dramatic, but other instances of "election irregularities" on both sides of the political aisle have plagued Texas since that 1948 primary.

And the fraud continues. Just since last summer, my office has been involved in several voter fraud cases across the state. Last month, three people, including a Texarkana City Council member, were indicted in Bowie County for illegally handling mail-in ballots for seniors and other voters during the November 2004 general elections.

In Reeves County, the mother of a **March** 2004 primary candidate for sheriff and another woman were indicted in January for illegally possessing and transporting the election ballots of several voters.

In Nueces County, four women allegedly targeted elderly voters during last year's local school board elections, going door-to-door soliciting votes and then taking ballots and carrier envelopes to the post office.

A Hardeman County commissioner pleaded guilty to illegally collecting mail-in ballots during the 2004 elections that put him in office.

And in Bee County, a Beeville resident pleaded guilty to mailing an absentee ballot in the name of her deceased mother during the November 2004 elections.

At first glance, these might seem like isolated events in far-flung towns. Step back, though, and the picture looks just as sinister as it did 60 years ago. For example, Texas has long been a haven for paid political operatives who target seniors and the disabled to handle their mail-in ballots for them. Many of the cases referred to my office by the Secretary of State fall into this category.

Exhibit 30
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The fact is, voter fraud allegations are surfacing in communities from the Rio Grande to the Red River, from the Pecos to the Piney Woods. For too long, Texas has turned a blind eye to these crimes, thinking everyone does it, it is too hard to prosecute, it's not really a serious crime, it's always taken place, or some other excuse. The reality is that voter fraud is occurring on a large scale when viewed statewide and, consequently, the election process is significantly impacted.

To fight this problem, I asked my Special Investigations Unit (SIU) to work with police departments, sheriff's offices, and district and county attorneys to identify, investigate and prosecute various types of voter fraud offenses.

Officers from the SIU, working through a \$1.5 million grant from the Governor's office, will visit key counties across the state to conduct voter fraud training. Included among these counties are 14 where my office has previously investigated or prosecuted alleged election code violations. In addition to the ones mentioned above, the list includes Comal, Floyd, Harris, Hidalgo, Jim Wells, Parker, Robertson, Tarrant and Waller counties.

SIU officers are also visiting 30 other Texas counties with populations of at least 100,000. Together, these 44 counties contain more than three-quarters of the eligible registered voters in the state.

With more law enforcement officers and prosecutors on the alert, those who would commit fraud will think twice before manipulating a disabled voter or casting a ballot from the grave. If they do it anyway, let this be their notice that we will come after them.

We must do all we can to ensure the validity of our elections. Voter fraud strikes at the heart of our democratic process, and it must stop.

POINTS TO REMEMBER

Fighting Voter Fraud

Voter fraud is an epidemic in Texas.

Just since last summer, the Attorney General has been involved in voter fraud cases in Bowie, Reeves, Nueces, Hardeman and Bee counties.

The Attorney General is visiting 44 counties to help local law enforcement and prosecutors identify, investigate and prosecute voter fraud.

To report voter fraud:
Office of the Attorney General
(800) 252-8011

Information on this and other topics is available on the Attorney General's website at www.oag.state.tx.us.

Guard Against Credit Card Abuse: Check Your Receipts

By Greg Abbott

PAUL BETTENCOURT
HARRIS COUNTY TAX ASSESSOR-COLLECTOR
AND VOTER REGISTRAR

COPY

Memo

To: Chuck Lowery, Investigator
From: George Hammerlein
CC: Paul Bettencourt, Linda Harvey, Ed Johnson, and Chris German
Date: July 23, 2007
Re: Possible fraudulent Voter Registration Applications for 5519 Dashwood, Houston, TX

We are in receipt of 29 additional Voter Registration Applications (for a total of 121), which appear to be fraudulently submitted, and are forwarding them to your office for review. These applications all contain the residence address of 5519 Dashwood (with various apartment numbers), Houston TX 77024, which is a non-existent address. In addition to the address, these applications also have the following similarities:

- Applications and signatures are in the same handwriting
- No date of birth (except on one application)
- No identification information
- All applications have an El Paso TX postmark

These applications have all been rejected, and notices have been mailed.

A spreadsheet containing the names of the individuals along with a copy of the applications are attached for your review.

The senders name on the mailing envelope (which contained 24 applications) is Jáadore Chañel Johnson. This is the same name that appeared on 14 of the applications received earlier with the 2519 Dashwood address. A spreadsheet identifying these voters is attached.

The state database of registered voters (referred to as TEAM) shows a Jadore Hall Johnson to be a registered voter in El Paso County. The TDL number associated with Jadore Hall Johnson's registration is 23663173. TDL records lists this number

as belonging to Gwendolyn H. Celestin who is also a registered voter in El Paso County.

The El Paso registration on Gwendoyln H. Celestin has TDL# 24466089. A copy of the TDL record information is attached for your reference. (Please note the difference in spelling of the first name.)

Both registrations have the same residence address (difference Apt #'s) and the same alternate mailing address. These two registrations may be the same person. The box number (PO Box 2365) appears on five (5) previously received applications (VRC# 61376190, 61375119, 61376232, 61474722 and 61389078), but the address has Houston TX 77023 instead of El Paso TX.

A copy of both of the voter registration applications for Jadore Chanel Johnson and Gwendoyln H. Celestin was obtained from El Paso County and are attached for your reference in this matter along with a screen capture of the TEAM record information.

If you have any questions please contact George Hammerlein, Director of Voter Registration, at (713) 368-2513.

Attachments:

2 Spreadsheets:

1. 29 new names
2. Master list of all 121 names

Copy of 29 new applications

Copy of El Paso County Voter files for Gwendoyln H. Celestin and Jadore Chanel Johnson

TEAM (Texas Election Administration Management) information for Gwendoyln H. Celestin and Jadore Chanel Johnson

TDL information for Gwendolyn (Gwendoyln) Celestin

7/23/2007
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Applicants requesting registration at
2519 Dashwood Dr #24 or 5519 Dashwood Dr (various Apt #'s)
Houston, TX 77027
MASTER
(TOTAL 121 / * = Additional 29 Applications)

	SUBMITTED	NAME	DOB	VRC #	ADDRESS	C,S,Z	NOTICE MAILED	ALTERNATE MAILING	DOCUMENT TRACKING NUMBER	N E W	Signature (other than applicant)
1	EL PASO POSTMARK	Hall, Ciara	none	61309969	2519 Dashwood Dr #24	Houston, TX 77024	REJ ADRU 03/15/07		236310559		Jadore Chanel Johnson
2	EL PASO POSTMARK	Hall, Garrad	none	61314449	2519 Dashwood Dr #24	Houston, TX 77024	REJ ADRU 03/15/07		236308615		
3	EL PASO POSTMARK	Hall, Garrett	none	61314415	2519 Dashwood Dr #24	Houston, TX 77024	REJ ADRU 03/15/07		236308090		
4	EL PASO POSTMARK 02/28/2007	Hall, Garvin	none	61474714	2519 Dashwood Dr	Houston, TX 77024		2519 Dashwood Dr, Houston, TX 77024	236308919		
5	EL PASO POSTMARK 02/28/2007	Hall, Garvin	none	61474714	2519 Dashwood Dr #24	Houston, TX 77024			236308483		
6	EL PASO POSTMARK	Hall, Jamelina	none	61322996	2519 Dashwood Dr #24	Houston, TX 77024	REJ TSTR 03/15/07 + ADRU 3/22/07		236297805		
7	EL PASO POSTMARK	Hall, Mayela	none	61314480	2519 Dashwood Dr #24	Houston, TX 77024	REJ ADRU 03/15/07 + STX 3/15/07		236308599		Jadore Chanel Johnson
8	EL PASO POSTMARK	Hall, Melina	none	61315388	2519 Dashwood Dr #24	Houston, TX 77024	REJ ADRU 03/15/07		236308633		Jadore Chanel Johnson
9	EL PASO POSTMARK	Hall, Melina	4/15/1976	61393864	2519 Dashwood Dr #24	Houston, TX 77024	REJ STX 04/12/2007		236580339		
10	EL PASO POSTMARK	Hall, Mirena	4/15/1976	61315370	2519 Dashwood Dr #24	Houston, TX 77024	REJ ADRU 03/15/07 + STX 4/06/07		236308642		Jadore Chanel Johnson
11	EL PASO POSTMARK	Hall, Raven	none	61322939	2519 Dashwood Dr #24	Houston, TX 77024	REJ TSTR 03/15/07 + ADRU 3/22/07		236297574		
12	EL PASO POSTMARK	Johnson, Jevon Mark	09/ /1976	61314498	2519 Dashwood Dr #24	Houston, TX 77024	REJ ADRU 03/15/07 + STX 03/15/07		236308508		Jadore Chanel Johnson
13	EL PASO POSTMARK	Johnson, Machele	none	61322913	2519 Dashwood Dr #24	Houston, TX 77024	REJ TSTR 03/15/07 + ADRU 3/22/07		236297342		
14	Priority Mail	Peters, Bernard	None	61624698	5519 Dashwood Dr. Apt 23	Houston, TX 77024	TSTR 07/12/2007	Same	237961746	*	
15	Priority Mail	Peters, Cindy	None	61624649	5519 Dashwood Dr. Apt 22	Houston, TX 77024	TSTR 07/12/2007	Same	237961719	*	
16	Priority Mail	Peters, Curtis Micheal	None	61624748	5519 Dashwood Dr. Apt 22	Houston, TX 77024	TSTR 07/12/2007	Same	237961773	*	
17	Priority Mail	Peters, Cythnia	None	61624664	5519 Dashwood Dr. Apt 22	Houston, TX 77024	TSTR 07/12/2007	Same	237961728	*	
18	Priority Mail	Peters, Gwendolyn	None	61624631	5519 Dashwood Dr. Apt 22	Houston, TX 77024	TSTR 07/12/2007	Same	237961700	*	
19	Priority Mail	Peters, James	None	61624482	5519 Dashwood Dr. Apt 22	Houston, TX 77024	TSTR 07/12/2007	Same	237961568	*	

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2519 Dashwood Dr #24 or 5519 Dashwood Dr (various Apt #'s)
Houston, TX 77027
MASTER

(TOTAL 121 / * = Additional 29 Applications)

	SUBMITTED	NAME	DOB	VRC #	ADDRESS	C,S,Z	NOTICE MAILED	ALTERNATE MAILING	DOCUMENT TRACKING NUMBER	N E W	Signature (other than applicant)
20	Priority Mail	Peters, Kermit	None	61624615	5519 Dashwood Dr. Apt 22	Houston, TX 77024	TSTR 07/12/2007	Same	237961693	*	
21	Priority Mail	Peters, Pamela	None	61624805	5519 Dashwood Dr. Apt 20	Houston, TX 77024	TSTR 07/12/2007	Same	237883929	*	
22	Priority Mail	Peters, Robert	None	61624722	5519 Dashwood Dr. Apt 23	Houston, TX 77024	TSTR 07/12/2007	Same	237961764	*	
23	Priority Mail	Peters, Shelia	None	61624821	5519 Dashwood Dr. Apt 20	Houston, TX 77024	TSTR 07/12/2007	Same	237961666	*	
24	Priority Mail	Peters, Stanley	None	61624706	5519 Dashwood Dr. Apt 23	Houston, TX 77024	TSTR 07/12/2007	Same	237961755	*	
25	Priority Mail	Peters, Terri	None	61624847	5519 Dashwood Dr. Apt 20	Houston, TX 77024	TSTR 07/12/2007	Same	237961657	*	
26	Priority Mail	Peters, Tony	None	61624474	5519 Dashwood Dr. Apt 22	Houston, TX 77024	TSTR 07/12/2007	Same	237961791	*	
27	Priority Mail	Peters, Valery Venitta	8/25/1959	23049455	5519 Dashwood Dr. Apt 21	Houston, TX 77024	REJ CMB 07/12/2007	Same	237961737	*	
28	Priority Mail	Peters, Walter	None	61624755	5519 Dashwood Dr. Apt 22	Houston, TX 77024	TSTR 07/12/2007	Same	237961782	*	
29	Priority Mail	Peters, Wanda	None	61624508	5519 Dashwood Dr. Apt 20	Houston, TX 77024	SEE PETERS- BROWN, WANDA	Same	237961675	*	
30	Priority Mail	Peters-Brown, Calvin	None	61624581	5519 Dashwood Dr. Apt 21	Houston, TX 77024	TSTR 07/12/2007	Same	237961648	*	
31	Priority Mail	Peters-Brown, James	None	61624565	5519 Dashwood Dr. Apt 21	Houston, TX 77024	TSTR 07/12/2007	Same	237961639	*	
32	Priority Mail	Peters-Brown, Pamela	None	61624524	5519 Dashwood Dr. Apt 21	Houston, TX 77024	TSTR 07/12/2007	Same	237961586	*	
33	Priority Mail	Peters-Brown, Richard	None	61624608	5519 Dashwood Dr. Apt 21	Houston, TX 77024	TSTR 07/12/2007	Same	237961611	*	
34	Priority Mail	Peters-Brown, Shelia	None	61624516	5519 Dashwood Dr. Apt 21	Houston, TX 77024	TSTR 07/12/2007	Same	237961595	*	
35	Priority Mail	Peters-Brown, Terri	None	61624532	5519 Dashwood Dr. Apt 21	Houston, TX 77024	TSTR 07/12/2007	Same	237961602	*	
36	Priority Mail	Peters-Brown, Tony	None	61624540	5519 Dashwood Dr. Apt 21	Houston, TX 77024	TSTR 07/12/2007	Same	237961620	*	
37	Priority Mail	Peters-Brown, Wanda	None	61624508	5519 Dashwood Dr. Apt 21	Houston, TX 77024	TSTR 07/12/2007	Same	237961577	*	
38	SOS 04/02/2007	Williams, Chaka	none	61376190	2519 Dashwood Dr #24	Houston, TX 77024	rej stx 04/12/2007 + 04/06/2007	PO BOX 2365, HOUSTON, TX 77023	236588420		
39	SOS 06/06/2007	Williams, Alan	None	61542098	2519 Dashwood #24	Houston, TX 77024	YES	NONE	237672194		
40	SOS 06/06/2007	Williams, Alice	None	61425096	2519 Dashwood #24	Houston, TX 77024	YES	NONE	237672238		
41	SOS	Williams, Alice	none	61425096	2519 Dashwood Dr #24	Houston, TX 77024	REJ STX 04/17/07		236686038		

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2519 Dashwood Dr #24 or 5519 Dashwood Dr (various Apt #'s)
Houston, TX 77027MASTER
(TOTAL 121 / * = Additional 29 Applications)

3

	SUBMITTED	NAME	DOB	VRC #	ADDRESS	C,S,Z	NOTICE MAILED	ALTERNATE MAILING	DOCUMENT TRACKING NUMBER	N E W	Signature (other than applicant)
42	SOS 06/06/2007 EL PASO	Williams, Aliceia	None	61542114	2519 Dashwood #24	Houston, TX 77024	YES	NONE	237672185		
43	POSTMARK	Williams, Alicia	none	61439709	2519 Dashwood Dr #24	Houston, TX 77024	REJ STX		236774399		
44	SOS	Williams, Angela	none	61425419	2519 Dashwood Dr #24	Houston, TX 77024	REJ STX 04/17/07 REJ TSTR 04/19/07		236686118		
45	SOS	Williams, Anthony	none	61433041	2519 Dashwood Dr #24	Houston, TX 77024			236611966		
46	SOS	Williams, Arthur	7/14/1980	61425153	2519 Dashwood Dr #24	Houston, TX 77024	REJ STX 04/17/07		236686001		
47	04/02/07 El Paso Postmark	Williams, Ashley	7/12/1979	61405460	2519 Dashwood Dr #24	Houston, TX 77024	TSTR 4/11/07		236692842		
48	SOS	Williams, Bernard	7/14/1980	61425161	2519 Dashwood Dr #24	Houston, TX 77024	REJ STX 04/17/07		236686010		
49	SOS	Williams, Calvert	4/15/1985	61434098	2519 Dashwood Dr #24	Houston, TX 77024	REJ STX 04/17/07		236686029		
50	04/02/07 El Paso Postmark	Williams, Calvin	4/15/2007	61405486	2519 Dashwood Dr #24	Houston, TX 77024	TSTR 4/11/07		236692904		
51	EL PASO POSTMARK	Williams, Carmelia	none	61323044	2519 Dashwood Dr #24	Houston, TX 77024	REJ TSTR 03/15/07 + ADRU 3/22/07		236297618		
52	03/28/2007 FROM SOS	Williams, Carmelia	7/12/1979	61375424	2519 Dashwood Dr #24	Houston, TX 77024	REJ STX 4/6/07 + 4/12/07		236524971		
53	03/28/2007 FROM SOS	Williams, Chaka	3/3/1982	61376190	2519 Dashwood Dr #24	Houston, TX 77024	REJ STX 4/6/07 + 4/12/07		236524999		
54	03/28/2007 FROM SOS	Williams, Chrishawn	4/15/1985	61375333	2519 Dashwood Dr #24	Houston, TX 77024	REJ STX 4/6/07 + 4/12/07		236525195		
55	SOS Postmark	Williams, Chrishawn	none	61425294	2519 Dashwood Dr #24	Houston, TX 77024	REJ STX 04/17/07		236686065		
56	07/11/07	Williams, Christian Micheal	None	61635256	5519 Dashwood Dr, Apt 24	Houston, TX 77024	TSTR	Same	237934919	*	
57	SOS	Williams, Cindy	none	61440137	2519 Dashwood Dr #24	Houston, TX 77024	REJ STX		236958146		
58	03/28/2007 FROM SOS	Williams, Cythnia	none	61375119	2519 Dashwood Dr #24	Houston, TX 77024	REJ STX 4/6/07 + 4/12/07		236525159		
59	SOS 04/02/2007 Postmark	Williams, Cythnia	none	61375119	2519 Dashwood Dr #24	Houston, TX 77024	REJ STX 04/06/2007 + 04/19/2007	PO BOX 2365, HOUSTON, TX 77023	236588411		
60	07/11/07 Postmark	Williams, Cyril	None	61635173	5519 Dashwood Dr, Apt 24	Houston, TX 77024	TSTR	Same	237934116	*	
61	07/11/07 Postmark	Williams, Damien	None	61635348	5519 Dashwood Dr, Apt 24	Houston, TX 77024	TSTR	Same	237934107	*	
62	EL PASO POSTMARK	Williams, Darlene	none	61315404	2519 Dashwood Dr #24	Houston, TX 77024	REJ ADRU 03/15/07		236308526		Jadore Chanel Johnson

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MASTER
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	SUBMITTED	NAME	DOB	VRC #	ADDRESS	C,S,Z	NOTICE MAILED	ALTERNATE MAILING	DOCUMENT TRACKING NUMBER	N E W	Signature (other than applicant)
63	EL PASO POSTMARK	Williams, Darryl	none	61309738	2519 Dashwood Dr #24	Houston, TX 77024	REJ ADRU 03/15/07		236310540		
64	Postmark 07/11/07	Williams, Darwin	None	61635215	5519 Dashwood Dr. Apt 24	Houston, TX 77024	TSTR	Same	237934857	*	
65	EL PASO POSTMARK	Williams, David	none	61314431	2519 Dashwood Dr #24	Houston, TX 77024	REJ ADRU 03/15/07		236308580		
66	EL PASO POSTMARK	Williams, Dawn	none	61314472	2519 Dashwood Dr #24	Houston, TX 77024	REJ ADRU 03/15/07 + STX 3/15/07		236308535		Jadore Chanel Johnson
67	EL PASO POSTMARK	Williams, Donald	none	61314381	2519 Dashwood Dr #24	Houston, TX 77024	REJ ADRU 03/15/07		236308492		
68	EL PASO POSTMARK	Williams, Donna	none	61315438	2519 Dashwood Dr #24	Houston, TX 77024	REJ ADRU 03/15/07		236308517		Jadore Chanel Johnson
69	03/28/2007 FROM SOS	Williams, Donna	4/15/1986	61375390	2519 Dashwood Dr #24	Houston, TX 77024	REJ STX 4/6/07 + 4/12/07		236525202		
70	EL PASO POSTMARK 04/07/2007	Williams, Dwight	none	61421426	2519 Dashwood Dr #24	Houston, TX 77024	REJ STX 04/26/2007		236586510		
71	SOS	Williams, Edward	none	61422200	2519 Dashwood Dr #24	Houston, TX 77024	REJ STX 04/02/07		236760388		
72	EL PASO POSTMARK	Williams, Eric	none	61314134	2519 Dashwood Dr #24	Houston, TX 77024	REJ ADRU 03/15/07		236308937		
73	EL PASO POSTMARK	Williams, Erica	none	61322137	2519 Dashwood Dr #24	Houston, TX 77024	REJ ADRU 03/22/07		236298010		Jadore Chanel Johnson
74	EL PASO POSTMARK	Williams, Erin	none	61314399	2519 Dashwood Dr #24	Houston, TX 77024	REJ ADRU 03/15/07		236308465		Jadore Chanel Johnson
75		Williams, Gerald	none	61422226	2519 Dashwood Dr #24	Houston, TX 77024	REJ STX 04/07/07		236760894		
76	SOS	Williams, James	3/10/1983	61425112	2519 Dashwood Dr #24	Houston, TX 77024	REJ STX 04/17/07		236685985		
77	SOS	Williams, Juanita	none	61425310	2519 Dashwood Dr #24	Houston, TX 77024	REJ STX 04/17/07		236686074		
78	SOS	Williams, Judy	none	61425385	2519 Dashwood Dr #24	Houston, TX 77024	REJ STX 04/17/07		236686109		
79	EL PASO POSTMARK	Williams, Kenneth	none	61309704	2519 Dashwood Dr #24	Houston, TX 77024	REJ ADRU 03/15/07		236310522		
80	EL PASO POSTMARK	Williams, Kevin	none	61314365	2519 Dashwood Dr #24	Houston, TX 77024	REJ ADRU 03/15/07		236308544		
81	SOS	Williams, Larry	none	61440111	2519 Dashwood Dr #24	Houston, TX 77024	REJ STX		236958137		
82	EL PASO POSTMARK	Williams, Laverne	none	61322962	2519 Dashwood Dr #24	Houston, TX 77024	REJ TSTR 03/15/07 + ADRU 3/22/07		236297583		
83	03/28/2007 FROM SOS	Williams, Laverne	7/12/1979	61376240	2519 Dashwood Dr #24	Houston, TX 77024	REJ STX 4/6/07 + 4/12/07		236524748		

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Applicants requesting registration at
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Houston, TX 77027
MASTER
(TOTAL 121 / * = Additional 29 Applications)

	SUBMITTED	NAME	DOB	VRC #	ADDRESS	C.S.Z	NOTICE MAILED	ALTERNATE MAILING	DOCUMENT TRACKING NUMBER	N E W	Signature (other than applicant)
84	SOS 06/06/2007	Williams, Lenny	None	61542155	2519 Dashwood #24	Houston, TX 77024	YES	NONE	237672247		
85	SOS	Williams, Linda	none	61425393	2519 Dashwood Dr #24	Houston, TX 77024	REJ STX 04/17/07		236761697		
86	EL PASO POSTMARK	Williams, Lisa	none	61315420	2519 Dashwood Dr #24	Houston, TX 77024	REJ ADRU 03/15/07		236308571		Jadore Chanel Johnson
87	SOS 06/06/2007	Williams, Mary	None	61425336	2519 Dashwood #24	Houston, TX 77024	YES	NONE	237672229		
88	SOS	Williams, Mary	none	61425336	2519 Dashwood Dr #24	Houston, TX 77024	REJ STX 04/17/07		236686083		
89	SOS 04/02/2007	Williams, Michael	none	61376232	2519 Dashwood Dr #24	Houston, TX 77024	REJ STX 04/12/2007	PO BOX 2365, HOUSTON, TX 77023	236588457		
90	03/28/2007 FROM SOS	Williams, Micheal	11/10/1976	61376232	2519 Dashwood Dr #24	Houston, TX 77024	REJ STX 4/6/07 + 4/12/07		236524980		
91	SOS 06/06/2007	Williams, Pamela	None	61542122	2519 Dashwood #24	Houston, TX 77024	YES	NONE	237672201		
92	EL PASO POSTMARK	Williams, Paul	none	61337887	2519 Dashwood Dr #24	Houston, TX 77024	TSTR 03/22/07		236498429		
93	SOS	Williams, Peter	none	61433058	2519 Dashwood Dr #24	Houston, TX 77024	REJ TSTR 04/19/07		236611733		
94	EL PASO POSTMARK	Williams, Phyllis	none	61309688	2519 Dashwood Dr #24	Houston, TX 77024	REJ ADRU 03/15/07		236692931 + 236308083		Jadore Chanel Johnson
95	SOS 06/06/2007	Williams, Regina	None	61542148	2519 Dashwood #24	Houston, TX 77024	YES	NONE	237672210		
96	Postmark 07/11/07	Williams, Robert	None	61635272	5519 Dashwood Dr, Apt 24	Houston, TX 77024	TSTR	Same	237934090	*	
97	SOS	Williams, Ronald	3/10/1983	61425146	2519 Dashwood Dr #24	Houston, TX 77024	REJ STX 04/17/07		236685994		
98	EL PASO POSTMARK 04/02/2007	Williams, Samuel	none	61421780	2519 Dashwood Dr #24	Houston, TX 77024	REJ STX 04/26/2007		236586351		
99	SOS	Williams, Shaka	none	61425369	2519 Dashwood Dr #24	Houston, TX 77024	REJ STX 04/17/07		236686092		
100	03/28/2007 FROM SOS	Williams, Shaniece	3/3/1982	61375200	2519 Dashwood Dr #24	Houston, TX 77024	REJ STX 4/6/07 + 4/12/07		236525131		
101	EL PASO POSTMARK	Williams, Sheila	none	61315412	2519 Dashwood Dr #24	Houston, TX 77024	REJ ADRU 03/15/07		236308553		Jadore Chanel Johnson
102	SOS	Williams, Shelia Denise	none	61425260	2519 Dashwood Dr #24	Houston, TX 77024	REJ STX 04/17/07		236686047		
103	EL PASO POSTMARK	Williams, Shelita	none	61315396	2519 Dashwood Dr #24	Houston, TX 77024	REJ ADRU 03/15/07		308624		Jadore Chanel Johnson
104	03/28/2007 FROM SOS	Williams, Shelita	4/15/1986	61375325	2519 Dashwood Dr #24	Houston, TX 77024	REJ STX 4/6/07 + 4/12/07		236525186		
105	EL PASO POSTMARK	Williams, Shelita	4/15/1985	61385563	2519 Dashwood Dr #24	Houston, TX 77024	REJ STX 04/12/07		236528290		

TX_00002090

USA_00019731

TX_00002090
JA_004849

7/23/2007
3:20 PM

Applicants requesting registration at
2519 Dashwood Dr #24 or 5519 Dashwood Dr (various Apt #'s)
Houston, TX 77027
MASTER
(TOTAL 121 / * = Additional 29 Applications)

6.

	SUBMITTED	NAME	DOB	VRC #	ADDRESS	C.S.Z	NOTICE MAILED	ALTERNATE MAILING	DOCUMENT TRACKING NUMBER	N E W	Signature (other than applicant)
106	MAIL	Williams, Shirley	none	61323234	2519 Dashwood Dr #24	Houston, TX 77024	REJ TSTR 03/15/07 + ADRU 3/22/07		236297397		
107	03/28/2007 FROM SOS	Williams, Shirley	7/12/1979	61375085	2519 Dashwood Dr #24	Houston, TX 77024	REJ STX 4/6/07 + 4/12/07		236525140		
108	EL PASO POSTMARK	Williams, Tamara	none	61323226	2519 Dashwood Dr #24	Houston, TX 77024	REJ TSTR 03/15/07 + ADRU 3/22/07		236297681		
109	04/02/2007 SOS	Williams, Terri	# 8 only	61474722	2519 Dashwood Dr #24	Houston, TX 77024		PO BOX 2365, HOUSTON, TX 77023	236588448		
110	03/28/2007 FROM SOS	Williams, Terry	none	61389557	2519 Dashwood Dr #24	Houston, TX 77024	REJ STX 4/12/07	PO BOX 2365, HOUSTON, TX 77023	236588439		
111	MAIL	Williams, Toni	none	61322889	2519 Dashwood Dr #24	Houston, TX 77024	REJ TSTR 03/15/07		236297413		
112	EL PASO POSTMARK	Williams, Tony	none	61421467	2519 Dashwood Dr #24	Houston, TX 77024	REJ STX 04/26/2007		236588459		
113	SOS	Williams, Troy	none	61433033	2519 Dashwood Dr #24	Houston, TX 77024	REJ TSTR 04/19/07		236611957		
114	SOS	Williams, Troy	none	61433033	2519 Dashwood Dr #24	Houston, TX 77024			237178308		
115	EL PASO POSTMARK	Williams, Tyrone	none	61314175	2519 Dashwood Dr #24	Houston, TX 77024	REJ ADRU 03/15/07		236308697		Jadore Chanel Johnson
116	03/28/2007 FROM SOS	Williams, Valery	03/ /1983	61389078	2519 Dashwood Dr #24	Houston, TX 77024	REJ STX 4/12/07	PO BOX 2365, HOUSTON, TX 77023	236598650		
117	03/28/2007 FROM SOS	Williams, Vesta	4/15/1985	61376224	2519 Dashwood Dr #24	Houston, TX 77024	REJ STX 4/6/07 + 4/12/07		236524739		
118	SOS	Williams, Wanda	none	61425278	2519 Dashwood Dr #24	Houston, TX 77024	REJ STX 04/17/07		236686056		
119	EL PASO POSTMARK	Williams, Wayne	none	61314159	2519 Dashwood Dr #24	Houston, TX 77024	REJ ADRU 03/15/07		236308928		
120	EL PASO POSTMARK	Williams, Wesley	none	61314456	2519 Dashwood Dr #24	Houston, TX 77024	REJ ADRU 03/15/07		236308795		
121	SOS	Williams, Willie	none	61440095	2519 Dashwood Dr #24	Houston, TX 77024	REJ STX		236772006		

TX_00002091

USA_00019732

TX_00002091
JA_004850

7/23/2007
3:21 PM29 Applicants requesting registration at same address
5519 Dashwood Dr (Various Apt #'s)
Houston, TX 7702424 FROM: JADORE CHANEL JOHNSON
RETURN ADDRESS: 5519 DASHWOOD DRIVE, APT 24, HOUSTON TX 77024

5 - EL PASO POSTMARK 07/11/2007

SUBMITTED	NAME	DOB	VRC #	ADDRESS	C,S,Z	NOTICE MAILED	ALTERNATE MAILING	DOCUMENT TRACKING NUMBER
1 Priority Mail	Peters, Bernard	None	61624698	5519 Dashwood Dr. Apt 23	Houston, TX 77024	TSTR 07/12/2007	Same	237961746
2 Priority Mail	Peters, Cindy	None	61624649	5519 Dashwood Dr. Apt 22	Houston, TX 77024	TSTR 07/12/2007	Same	237961719
3 Priority Mail	Peters, Curtis Micheal	None	61624748	5519 Dashwood Dr. Apt 22	Houston, TX 77024	TSTR 07/12/2007	Same	237961773
4 Priority Mail	Peters, Cythnia	None	61624664	5519 Dashwood Dr. Apt 22	Houston, TX 77024	TSTR 07/12/2007	Same	237961728
5 Priority Mail	Peters, Gwendolyn	None	61624631	5519 Dashwood Dr. Apt 22	Houston, TX 77024	TSTR 07/12/2007	Same	237961700
6 Priority Mail	Peters, James	None	61624482	5519 Dashwood Dr. Apt 22	Houston, TX 77024	TSTR 07/12/2007	Same	237961568
7 Priority Mail	Peters, Kermit	None	61624615	5519 Dashwood Dr. Apt 22	Houston, TX 77024	TSTR 07/12/2007	Same	237961693
8 Priority Mail	Peters, Pamela	None	61624805	5519 Dashwood Dr. Apt 20	Houston, TX 77024	TSTR 07/12/2007	Same	237883929
9 Priority Mail	Peters, Robert	None	61624722	5519 Dashwood Dr. Apt 23	Houston, TX 77024	TSTR 07/12/2007	Same	237961755
10 Priority Mail	Peters, Shelia	None	61624821	5519 Dashwood Dr. Apt 20	Houston, TX 77024	TSTR 07/12/2007	Same	237961666
11 Priority Mail	Peters, Stanley	None	61624706	5519 Dashwood Dr. Apt 23	Houston, TX 77024	TSTR 07/12/2007	Same	237961755
12 Priority Mail	Peters, Terri	None	61624847	5519 Dashwood Dr. Apt 20	Houston, TX 77024	TSTR 07/12/2007	Same	237961657
13 Priority Mail	Peters, Tony	None	61624474	5519 Dashwood Dr. Apt 22	Houston, TX 77024	TSTR 07/12/2007	Same	237961791
14 Priority Mail	Peters, Valery Venitta	8/25/1959	23049455	5519 Dashwood Dr. Apt 21	Houston, TX 77024	REJ CMB 07/12/2007	Same	237961737
15 Priority Mail	Peters, Walter	None	61624755	5519 Dashwood Dr. Apt 22	Houston, TX 77024	TSTR 07/12/2007	Same	237961782
16 Priority Mail	Peters, Wanda	None	61624508	5519 Dashwood Dr. Apt 20	Houston, TX 77024	SEE PETERS-BROWN, WANDA	Same	237961675
17 Priority Mail	Peters-Brown, Calvin	None	61624581	5519 Dashwood Dr. Apt 21	Houston, TX 77024	TSTR 07/12/2007	Same	237961646

TX_00002092

USA_00019733

7/23/2007
3:21 PM29 Applicants requesting registration at same address
5519 Dashwood Dr (Various Apt #'s)
Houston, TX 77024

2

24 FROM: JADORE CHANEL JOHNSON
RETURN ADDRESS: 5519 DASHWOOD DRIVE, APT 24, HOUSTON TX 77024

5 - EL PASO POSTMARK 07/11/2007

	SUBMITTED	NAME	DOB	VRC #	ADDRESS	C,S,Z	NOTICE MAILED	ALTERNATE MAILING	DOCUMENT TRACKING NUMBER
18	Priority Mail	Peters-Brown, James	None	61624565	5519 Dashwood Dr. Apt 21	Houston, TX 77024	TSTR 07/12/2007	Same	237961639
19	Priority Mail	Peters-Brown, Pamela	None	61624524	5519 Dashwood Dr. Apt 21	Houston, TX 77024	TSTR 07/12/2007	Same	237961586
20	Priority Mail	Peters-Brown, Richard	None	61624608	5519 Dashwood Dr. Apt 21	Houston, TX 77024	TSTR 07/12/2007	Same	237961611
21	Priority Mail	Peters-Brown, Shelia	None	61624516	5519 Dashwood Dr. Apt 21	Houston, TX 77024	TSTR 07/12/2007	Same	237961595
22	Priority Mail	Peters-Brown, Terri	None	61624532	5519 Dashwood Dr. Apt 21	Houston, TX 77024	TSTR 07/12/2007	Same	237961602
23	Priority Mail	Peters-Brown, Tony	None	61624540	5519 Dashwood Dr. Apt 21	Houston, TX 77024	TSTR 07/12/2007	Same	237961620
24	Priority Mail	Peters-Brown, Wanda	None	61624508	5519 Dashwood Dr. Apt 21	Houston, TX 77024	TSTR 07/12/2007	Same	237961577
25	Postmark 07/11/07	Williams, Christian Miche	None	61635256	5519 Dashwood Dr, Apt 24	Houston, TX 77024	TSTR	Same	237934919
26	Postmark 07/11/07	Williams, Cyril	None	61635173	5519 Dashwood Dr, Apt 24	Houston, TX 77024	TSTR	Same	237934114
27	Postmark 07/11/07	Williams, Damien	None	61635348	5519 Dashwood Dr, Apt 24	Houston, TX 77024	TSTR	Same	237934107
28	Postmark 07/11/07	Williams, Darwin	None	61635215	5519 Dashwood Dr, Apt 24	Houston, TX 77024	TSTR	Same	237934857
29	Postmark 07/11/07	Williams, Robert	None	61635272	5519 Dashwood Dr, Apt 24	Houston, TX 77024	TSTR	Same	237934090

TX_00002093

USA_00019734

Texas Voter Registration Application

www.sos.state.tx.us

Prescribed by the Office of the Secretary of State

17.04 BPM1.1-04

Please complete sections by printing legibly. If you have any questions about how to fill out this application, please call the Secretary of State's Office toll free at 1-800-252-VOTE(8683), TDD 1-800-735-2989.

Qualifications

- You must register to vote in the county in which you reside.



237961746

- You must not be finally convicted of a felony, or if you are a felon, you must have completed all of your punishment, including any term of incarceration, parole, supervision, period of probation, or you must have received a pardon.

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61624698

Este formulario para inscribirse para votar tambien está disponible en Español. Para conseguir la version en Español favor de llamar sin cargo 1-800-252-8683 a la oficina del Secretario de Estado.

Complete These Questions Before ProceedingCheck one ☒ New ☐ Change ☐ ReplacementAre you a United States Citizen? ☒ Yes ☐ NoWill you be 18 years of age on or before election day? ☒ Yes ☐ No

If you checked 'no' in response to either of these questions, do not complete this form.

Have you ever voted in this county for a federal office? ☒ Yes ☐ No

If you answered "no" to this question, be sure to see special instructions regarding identification requirements on the reverse side of the application.

- Continue below to complete application.

Last Name

PETERS

First Name

Bernard

Middle Name (if any)

Former Name

Residence Address: Street Address and Apartment Number, City, State, and ZIP. If none, describe where you live. (Do not include P.O. Box or Rural RL)

5519 Dashwood Dr. Apt. 2B Houston

Mailing Address: Address, City, State and ZIP. If mail cannot be delivered to your residence address.

Same TX 77024

Date of Birth: month, day, year

Gender (Optional)

☒ Male ☐ Female

TX Driver's License No. or Personal I.D. No.

(Issued by the Department of Public Safety) If none, give last 4 digits of your Social Security Number

☒ Check if you do not have a social security, driver's license, or personal identification number

Telephone Number, Include Area Code (Optional)

City and County of Former Residence In Texas

I understand that giving false information to procure a voter registration is perjury, and a crime under state and federal law.

I affirm that I

- am a resident of this county;
- have not been finally convicted of a felony or if a felon I have completed all of my punishment including any term of incarceration, parole, supervision, period of probation, or I have been pardoned; and
- have not been declared mentally incompetent by final judgment of a court of law.

X

Bernard Peters Date 06/24/12

Signature of Applicant or Agent and Relationship to Applicant or Printed Name of Applicant if Signed by Witness and Date.

TX_00002094

JA_004853

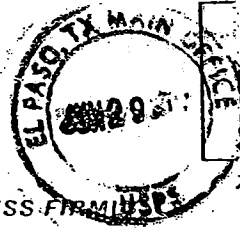
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USA_00019735

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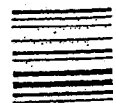
JUL 05 2007 PM02:11



From *Shoreline Travel Services*
5519 Dashwood Dr. Apt. 24
Houston, TX 77024

TO ELECTIONS
REGISTRAR OF VOTERS
County Court House
Houston, TEXAS
77024

Label 228, February 2008



TX_00002095
JA_004854

TX_00002095

USA_00019736

Texas Voter Registration Application

www.sos.state.tx.us

Prescribed by the Office of the Secretary of State

17.04 BPM1.1-04

For Official Use Only

6162 4649

Please complete sections by printing legibly. If you have any questions about how to fill out this application, please call the Secretary of State's Office toll free at 1-800-252-VOTE(8683), TDD 1-800-735-2989.

Qualifications

- You must register to vote in the county in which you reside.
- You must be a citizen of the United States.



237961719

Felony, or if you are a felon, you must have completed all of your punishment, including any term of incarceration, parole, supervision, period of probation, or you must have received a pardon.

Complete These Questions Before ProceedingCheck one ☒ New ☐ Change ☐ Replacement

Are you a United States Citizen?

☒ Yes ☐ No

Will you be 18 years of age on or before election day?

☒ Yes ☐ No

If you checked 'no' in response to either of these questions, do not complete this form.

Have you ever voted in this county for a federal office?

☒ Yes ☐ No

If you answered "no" to this question, be sure to see special instructions regarding identification requirements on the reverse side of the application.

- Continue below to complete application.

Last Name First Name Middle Name (If any) Former Name

Peters

CINDY

Residence Address: Street Address and Apartment Number, City, State, and ZIP. If none, describe where you live. (Do not include P.O. Box or Rural RL)

5519 Dashwood Dr. Apt. 22 Houston, TX.

Mailing Address: Address, City, State and ZIP: If mail cannot be delivered to your residence address.

SAME

77024

Date of Birth: month, day, year

Gender (Optional)

☐ Male ☒ Female

TX Driver's License No. or Personal I.D. No.

(Issued by the Department of Public Safety) If none, give last 4 digits of your Social Security Number

☒ Check if you do not have a social security, driver's license, or personal identification number

Telephone Number, Include Area Code (Optional)

City and County of Former Residence in Texas

I understand that giving false information to procure a voter registration is perjury, and a crime under state and federal law.

I affirm that I

- am a resident of this county;
- have not been finally convicted of a felony or if a felon I have completed all of my punishment including any term of incarceration, parole, supervision, period of probation, or I have been pardoned; and
- have not been declared mentally incompetent by final judgment of a court of law.

X Cindy Peters
Signature of Applicant or Agent and Relationship to Applicant or Printed Name of Applicant if Signed by Witness and Date.

6-24-07
Date

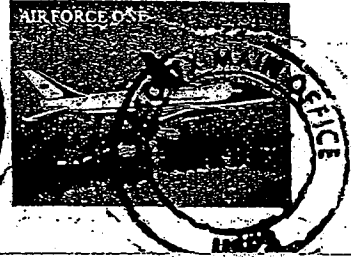
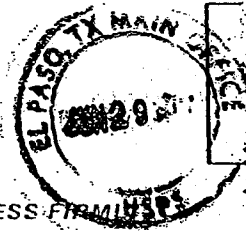
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JA_004855

TX_00002096

USA_00019737

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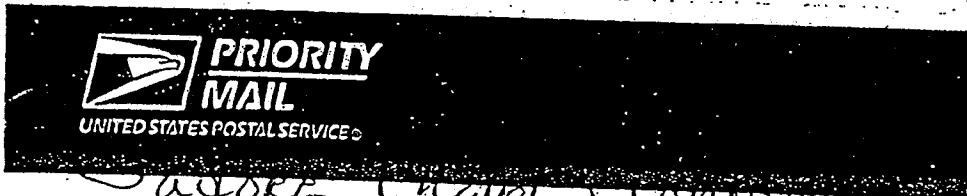
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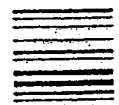
JUL 05 2007 PM02:11



From ~~Adore Chavel~~
5519 Dashwood Dr. Apt. 24
Houston, TX 77024

TO ELECTIONS
REGISTRAR OF VOTERS
County Court House
Houston, TEXAS
77024

Label 228, February 2006



TX_00002097
JA_004856

TX_00002097

USA_00019738

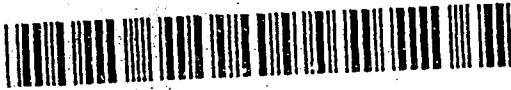
Texas Voter Registration Application

www.sos.state.tx.us

Please complete sections by printing legibly. If you have any questions about how to fill out this application, please call the Secretary of State's Office toll free at 1-800-252-VOTE(8683), TDD 1-800-735-2989.

Qualifications

- You must register to vote in the county in



237961773

- You must not be finally convicted of a felony, or if you are a felon, you must have completed all of your punishment, including any term of incarceration, parole, supervision, period of probation, or you must have received a pardon.

Prescribed by the Office of the Secretary of State

17.04 BPM1.1-04

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61624748

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Complete These Questions Before ProceedingCheck one ☒ New ☐ Change ☐ ReplacementAre you a United States Citizen? ☒ Yes ☐ NoWill you be 18 years of age on or before election day? ☒ Yes ☐ No

If you checked 'no' in response to either of these questions, do not complete this form.

Have you ever voted in this county for a federal office? ☒ Yes ☐ No

If you answered "no" to this question, be sure to see special instructions regarding identification requirements on the reverse side of the application.

- Continue below to complete application.

Last Name Peters First Name Curtis Middle Name (if any) Michael Former Name _____

Residence Address: Street Address and Apartment Number, City, State, and ZIP. If none, describe where you live. (Do not include P.O. Box or Rural Rt.) 5519 Dashwood Dr. Apt. 28 Houston, TX 77024

Mailing Address: Address, City, State and ZIP: If mail cannot be delivered to your residence address. SAME TX 77024

Date of Birth: month, day, year Gender (Optional) ☒ Male ☐ Female

TX Driver's License No. or Personal I.D. No. (Issued by the Department of Public Safety) If none, give last 4 digits of your Social Security Number

☒ Check if you do not have a social security, driver's license, or personal identification number

Telephone Number, Include Area Code (Optional)

City and County of Former Residence In Texas

I understand that giving false information to procure a voter registration is perjury, and a crime under state and federal law.

I affirm that I

- am a resident of this county;
- have not been finally convicted of a felony or if a felon I have completed all of my punishment including any term of incarceration, parole, supervision, period of probation, or I have been pardoned; and
- have not been declared mentally incompetent by final judgment of a court of law.

X Curtis Michael Peters Date 6-24-07

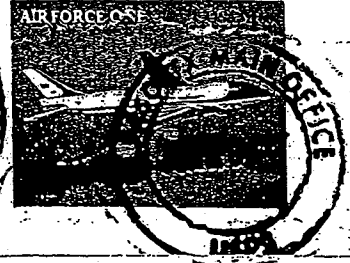
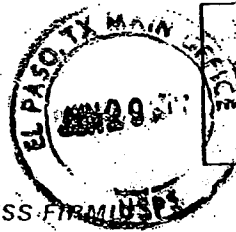
Signature of Applicant or Agent and Relationship to Applicant or Printed Name of Applicant if Signed by Witness and Date.

TX_00002098
JA_004857

TX_00002098

USA_00019739

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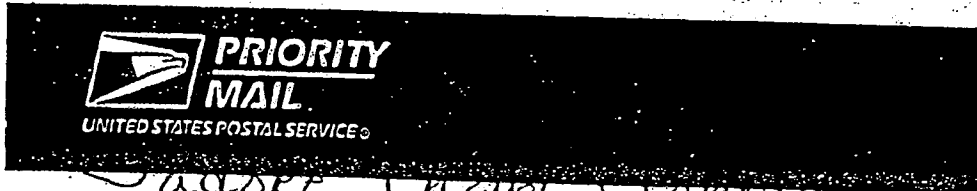


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5519 Dashwood Dr. Apt. 24
Houston, TX 77024
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TO ELECTIONS
REGISTRAR OF VOTERS
County Court House
Houston, TEXAS
77024

Label 228, February 2006



TX_00002099
JA_004858

TX_00002099

USA_00019740

Texas Voter Registration Application

www.sos.state.tx.us

Prescribed by the Office of the Secretary of State

17.04 BPM1.1-04

Please complete sections by printing legibly. If you have any questions about how to fill out this application, please call the Secretary of State's Office toll free at 1-800-252-VOTE(8683), TDD 1-800-735-2989.

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Este formulario para inscribirse para votar tambien está disponible en Español. Para conseguir la versión en Español favor de llamar sin cargo 1-800-252-8683 a la oficina del Secretario de Estado.

Qualifications

- You must register to vote in the county in which you reside.



237961728

felony, or if you are a felon, you must have completed all of your punishment, including any term of incarceration, parole, supervision, period of probation, or you must have received a pardon.

Complete These Questions Before ProceedingCheck one ☒ New ☐ Change ☐ Replacement

Are you a United States Citizen?

☒ Yes ☐ No

Will you be 18 years of age on or before election day?

☒ Yes ☐ No

If you checked 'no' in response to either of these questions, do not complete this form.

Have you ever voted in this county for a federal office?

☒ Yes ☐ No

If you answered "no" to this question, be sure to see special instructions regarding identification requirements on the reverse side of the application.

- Continue below to complete application.

Last Name Peters First Name Cythnia Middle Name (If any) _____ Former Name _____

Residence Address: Street Address and Apartment Number, City, State, and ZIP. If none, describe where you live. (Do not include P.O. Box or Rural Rt.)

5519 DASHWOOD DR. Apt. 22 Houston, TX
77024

Mailing Address: Address, City, State and ZIP. If mail cannot be delivered to your residence address.

JAME

Date of Birth: month, day, year

Gender (Optional)

☐ Male ☒ Female

TX Driver's License No. or Personal I.D. No.

(Issued by the Department of Public Safety) If none, give last 4 digits of your Social Security Number

☒ Check if you do not have a social security, driver's license, or personal identification number

Telephone Number, Include Area Code (Optional)

City and County of Former Residence In Texas

I understand that giving false information to procure a voter registration is perjury, and a crime under state and federal law.

I affirm that I

- am a resident of this county;
- have not been finally convicted of a felony or if a felon I have completed all of my punishment including any term of incarceration, parole, supervision, period of probation, or I have been pardoned; and
- have not been declared mentally incompetent by final judgment of a court of law.

X

Cythnia Peters

Date

Signature of Applicant or Agent and Relationship to Applicant or Printed Name of Applicant if Signed by Witness and Date.

TX_00002100
JA_004859

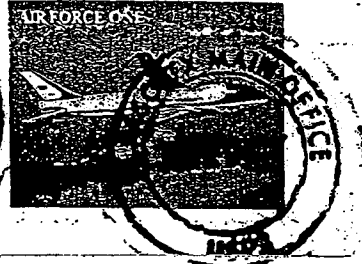
TX_00002100

USA_00019741

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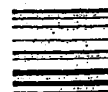


From

5519 Dashwood Dr. Apt. 24
Houston, TX 77024

TO ELECTIONS
REGISTRAR OF VOTERS
County Court House
Houston, TEXAS
77024

Label 228, February 2008



TX_00002101
JA_004860

TX_00002101

USA_00019742

Texas Voter Registration Application

www.sos.state.tx.us

Please complete sections by printing legibly. If you have any questions about how to fill out this application, please call the Secretary of State's Office toll free at 1-800-252-VOTE(8683), TDD 1-800-735-2989.

Qualifications

- You must register to vote in the county in which you reside.



237961700

- You must not be finally convicted of a felony, or if you are a felon, you must have completed all of your punishment, including any term of incarceration, parole, supervision, period of probation, or you must have received a pardon.

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17.04 BPM1.1-04

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6162 4631

Este formulario para inscribirse para votar tambien está disponible en Español. Para conseguir la version en Español favor de llamar sin cargo 1-800-252-8683 a la oficina del Secretario de Estado.

Complete These Questions Before ProceedingCheck one ☒ New ☐ Change ☐ ReplacementAre you a United States Citizen? ☒ Yes ☐ NoWill you be 18 years of age on or before election day? ☒ Yes ☐ No

If you checked 'no' in response to either of these questions, do not complete this form.

Have you ever voted in this county for a federal office? ☒ Yes ☐ No

If you answered "no" to this question, be sure to see special instructions regarding identification requirements on the reverse side of the application.

- Continue below to complete application.

Last Name First Name Middle Name (if any) Former Name

Peters

GWENDOLYN

Residence Address: Street Address and Apartment Number, City, State, and ZIP. If none, describe where you live. (Do not include P.O. Box or Rural Rt.)

5519 Dashwood Dr. Apt. 20 Houston

Mailing Address: Address, City, State and ZIP. If mail cannot be delivered to your residence address.

SAME

Date of Birth: month, day, year

Gender (Optional)

☐ Male ☒ Female

TX Driver's License No. or Personal I.D. No.

(Issued by the Department of Public Safety) If none, give last 4 digits of your Social Security Number

☒ Check if you do not have a social security, driver's license, or personal identification number

Telephone Number, Include Area Code (Optional)

City and County of Former Residence In Texas

I understand that giving false information to procure a voter registration is perjury, and a crime under state and federal law.

I affirm that I

- am a resident of this county;
- have not been finally convicted of a felony or if a felon I have completed all of my punishment including any term of incarceration, parole, supervision, period of probation, or I have been pardoned; and
- have not been declared mentally incompetent by final judgment of a court of law.

X Gwendolyn Peters Date 6/29/07
Signature of Applicant or Agent and Relationship to Applicant or Printed Name of Applicant if Signed by Witness and Date.

TX_00002102

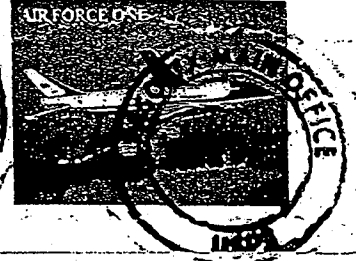
JA_004861

TX_00002102

USA_00019743

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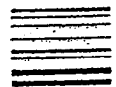
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From

DAVIDE GRAYSON
5519 Dashwood Dr. Apt. 24
Houston, TX 77024

TO ELECTIONS
REGISTRAR OF VOTERS
County Court House
Houston, TEXAS
77024

Label 228, February 2006



TX_00002103
JA_004862

TX_00002103

USA_00019744

Texas Voter Registration Application

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Prescribed by the Office of the Secretary of State

17.04 BPM1.1-04

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6162 4482

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Qualifications

- You must register to vote in the county in



237961568

years of age by election day.

- You must not be finally convicted of a felony, or if you are a felon, you must have completed all of your punishment, including any term of incarceration, parole, supervision, period of probation, or you must have received a pardon.

Complete These Questions Before ProceedingCheck one ☒ New ☐ Change ☐ ReplacementAre you a United States Citizen? ☒ Yes ☐ NoAre you 18 years of age on or before election day? ☒ Yes ☐ No

If you checked 'no' in response to either of these questions, do not complete this form.

Have you ever voted in this county for a federal office? ☒ Yes ☐ No

If you answered "no" to this question, be sure to see special instructions regarding identification requirements on the reverse side of the application.

- Continue below to complete application.

Last Name: Peters First Name: JAMES Middle Name (if any): _____ Former Name: _____

Residence Address: Street Address and Apartment Number, City, State, and ZIP. If none, describe where you live. (Do not include P.O. Box or Rural R.L.) 5519 Dashwood Dr. Apt. 2B Houston, TX 77024

Mailing Address: Address, City, State and ZIP: If mail cannot be delivered to your residence address. SAME

Date of Birth: month, day, year

Gender (Optional)

☒ Male ☐ Female

TX Driver's License No. or Personal I.D. No.

(Issued by the Department of Public Safety) If none, give last 4 digits of your Social Security Number

☒ Check if you do not have a social security, driver's license, or personal identification number

Telephone Number, Include Area Code (Optional)

City and County of Former Residence In Texas

I understand that giving false information to procure a voter registration is perjury, and a crime under state and federal law.

I affirm that I

- am a resident of this county;
- have not been finally convicted of a felony or if a felon I have completed all of my punishment including any term of incarceration, parole, supervision, period of probation, or I have been pardoned; and
- have not been declared mentally incompetent by final judgment of a court of law.

06/24/07

Date

X James Peters

Signature of Applicant or Agent and Relationship to Applicant or Printed Name of Applicant if Signed by Witness and Date.

TX_00002104

JA_004863

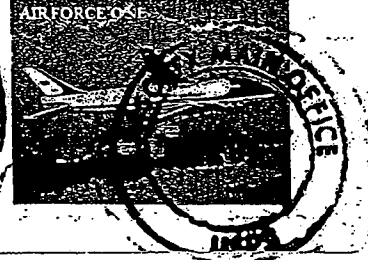
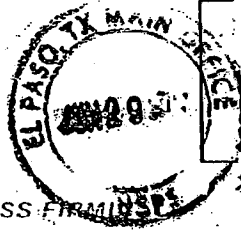
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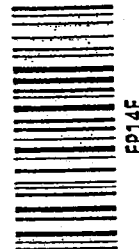
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TX_00002105
JA_004864

TX_00002105

USA_00019746

Texas Voter Registration Application

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Please complete sections by printing legibly. If you have any questions about how to fill out this application, please call the Secretary of State's Office toll free at 1-800-252-VOTE(8683), TDD 1-800-735-2989.

Qualifications

- You must register to vote in the county in which you reside.



237961693

- You must not be finally convicted of a felony, or if you are a felon, you must have completed all of your punishment, including any term of incarceration, parole, supervision, period of probation, or you must have received a pardon.

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17.04 BPM1.1-04

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Complete These Questions Before ProceedingCheck one ☒ New ☐ Change ☐ ReplacementAre you a United States Citizen? ☒ Yes ☐ NoWill you be 18 years of age on or before election day? ☒ Yes ☐ No

If you checked 'no' in response to either of these questions, do not complete this form.

Have you ever voted in this county for a federal office? ☒ Yes ☐ No

If you answered "no" to this question, be sure to see special instructions regarding identification requirements on the reverse side of the application.

- Continue below to complete application.

Last Name First Name Middle Name (if any) Former Name

Peters Kermit

Residence Address: Street Address and Apartment Number, City, State and ZIP. If none, describe where you live. (Do not include P.O. Box or Rural Rt.)

5519 Dashwood Dr. Apt. 207, Houston, TX 77024

Mailing Address: Address, City, State and ZIP. If mail cannot be delivered to your residence address.

SAME

Date of Birth: month, day, year

Gender (Optional)

☒ Male ☐ Female

TX Driver's License No. or Personal I.D. No.

(Issued by the Department of Public Safety) If none, give last 4 digits of your Social Security Number

☒ Check if you do not have a social security, driver's license, or personal identification number

Telephone Number, Include Area Code (Optional)

City and County of Former Residence In Texas

I understand that giving false information to procure a voter registration is perjury, and a crime under state and federal law.

I affirm that I

- am a resident of this county;
- have not been finally convicted of a felony or if a felon I have completed all of my punishment including any term of incarceration, parole, supervision, period of probation, or I have been pardoned; and
- have not been declared mentally incompetent by final judgment of a court of law.

X Kermit Peters Date 62467

Signature of Applicant or Agent and Relationship to Applicant or Printed Name of Applicant if Signed by Witness and Date.

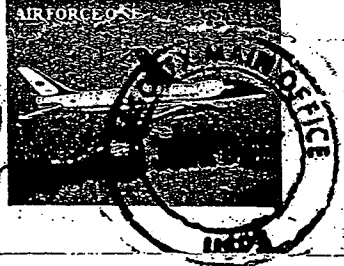
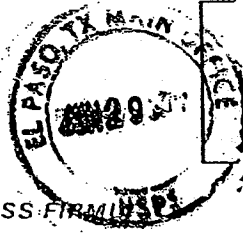
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JA_004865

TX_00002106

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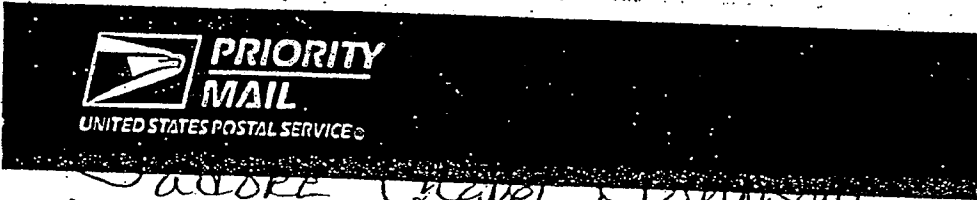
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Houston, TEXAS
77024

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JA_004866

TX_00002107

USA_00019748

Texas Voter Registration Application

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17.04 BPM1.1-04

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Este formulario para inscribirse para votar tambien está disponible en Español. Para conseguir la version en Español favor de llamar sin cargo 1-800-252-8683 a la oficina del Secretario de Estado.

Qualifications

- You must register to vote in the county in which you reside.



237883929

felony, or if you are a felon, you must have completed all of your punishment, including any term of incarceration, parole, supervision, period of probation, or you must have received a pardon.

Complete These Questions Before ProceedingCheck one ☒ New ☐ Change ☐ ReplacementAre you a United States Citizen? ☒ Yes ☐ NoWill you be 18 years of age on or before election day? ☒ Yes ☐ No

If you checked 'no' in response to either of these questions, do not complete this form.

Have you ever voted in this county for a federal office? ☒ Yes ☐ No

If you answered 'no' to this question, be sure to see special instructions regarding identification requirements on the reverse side of the application.

- Continue below to complete application.

Last Name PETERS First Name Pamela Middle Name (if any) _____ Former Name _____

Residence Address: Street Address and Apartment Number, City, State, and ZIP. If none, describe where you live. (Do not include P.O. Box or Rural Rt.) 5519 Dashwood Dr Apt. 20, Houston,

Mailing Address: Address, City, State and ZIP. If mail cannot be delivered to your residence address. TX. 77024

SAME

Date of Birth: month, day, year

Gender (Optional)

☐ Male ☒ Female

TX Driver's License No. or Personal I.D. No.
(Issued by the Department of Public Safety) If none, give last 4
digits of your Social Security Number

☒ Check if you do not have a social security, driver's
license, or personal identification number

Telephone Number, Include Area Code
(Optional)

City and County of Former Residence In Texas

I understand that giving false information to procure a
voter registration is perjury, and a crime under state and
federal law.

I affirm that I

- am a resident of this county;
- have not been finally convicted of a felony or if a felon I have completed all of my punishment including any term of incarceration, parole, supervision, period of probation, or I have been pardoned; and
- have not been declared mentally incompetent by final judgment of a court of law.

X Pamela Peters 06/24/07
Date

Signature of Applicant or Agent and Relationship to Applicant
or Printed Name of Applicant if Signed by Witness and Date.

TX_00002108

JA_004867

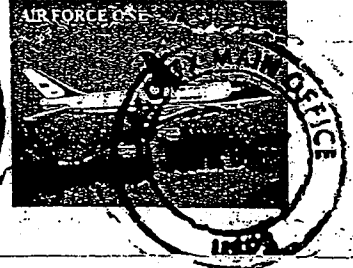
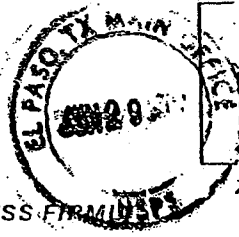
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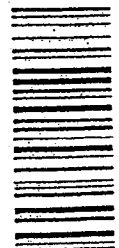
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Houston, TX 77024

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HOUSTON, TEXAS
77024

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JA_004868

TX_00002109

USA_00019750

Texas Voter Registration Application

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Please complete sections by printing legibly. If you have any questions about how to fill out this application, please call the Secretary of State's Office toll free at 1-800-252-VOTE(8683), TDD 1-800-735-2989.

Qualifications

- You must register to vote in the county in which you reside.



237961764

felony, or if you are a felon, you must have completed all of your punishment, including any term of incarceration, parole, supervision, period of probation, or you must have received a pardon.

Prescribed by the Office of the Secretary of State

17.04 BPM1.1-04

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Complete These Questions Before ProceedingCheck one ☒ New ☐ Change ☐ ReplacementAre you a United States Citizen? ☒ Yes ☐ NoWill you be 18 years of age on or before election day? ☒ Yes ☐ No

If you checked 'no' in response to either of these questions, do not complete this form.

Have you ever voted in this county for a federal office? ☒ Yes ☐ No

If you answered "no" to this question, be sure to see special instructions regarding identification requirements on the reverse side of the application.

- Continue below to complete application.

Last Name First Name Middle Name (If any) Former Name

Peters

Robert

Residence Address: Street Address and Apartment Number, City, State, and ZIP. If none, describe where you live. (Do not include P.O. Box or Rural Rt.)

5519 Dashwood Dr. Apt. 23, Houston

Mailing Address: Address, City, State and ZIP: If mail cannot be delivered to your residence address.

TX 77024

SAME

Date of Birth: month, day, year

Gender (Optional)

☒ Male ☐ Female

TX Driver's License No. or Personal I.D. No.

(Issued by the Department of Public Safety) If none, give last 4 digits of your Social Security Number

☒ Check if you do not have a social security, driver's license, or personal identification number

Telephone Number, Include Area Code (Optional)

City and County of Former Residence In Texas

I understand that giving false information to procure a voter registration is perjury, and a crime under state and federal law.

I affirm that I

- am a resident of this county;
- have not been finally convicted of a felony or if a felon I have completed all of my punishment including any term of incarceration, parole, supervision, period of probation, or I have been pardoned; and
- have not been declared mentally incompetent by final judgment of a court of law.

X Robert Peters Date 6-24-07

Signature of Applicant or Agent and Relationship to Applicant or Printed Name of Applicant if Signed by Witness and Date.

TX_00002110

JA_004869

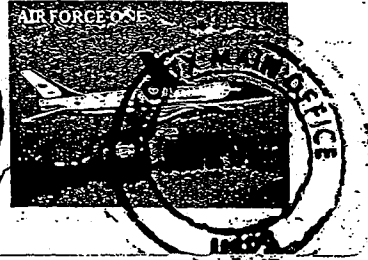
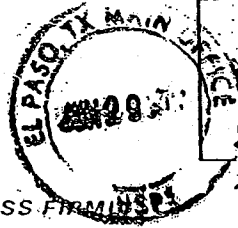
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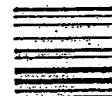


From *DAVIDE CHAVEZ DOMESTICO*
5519 Dashwood Dr. Apt. 24
Houston, TX 77024
www.usps.com

JUL 05 2007 PM02:11

TO ELECTIONS
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County Court House
Houston, TEXAS
77024

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TX_00002111
JA_004870

TX_00002111

USA_00019752

Texas Voter Registration Application

www.sos.state.tx.us

Please complete sections by printing legibly. If you have any questions about how to fill out this application, please call the Secretary of State's Office toll free at 1-800-252-VOTE(8683), TDD 1-800-735-2989.

Qualifications

- You must register to vote in the county in which you reside.
- You must be a citizen of the United States.



237961666

felony, or if you are a felon, you must have completed all of your punishment, including any term of incarceration, parole, supervision, period of probation, or you must have received a pardon.

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17.04 BPM1.1-04

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61624821

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Complete These Questions Before ProceedingCheck one ☒ New ☐ Change ☐ ReplacementAre you a United States Citizen? ☒ Yes ☐ NoWill you be 18 years of age on or before election day? ☒ Yes ☐ No

If you checked 'no' in response to either of these questions, do not complete this form.

Have you ever voted in this county for a federal office? ☒ Yes ☐ No

If you answered "no" to this question, be sure to see special instructions regarding identification requirements on the reverse side of the application.

- Continue below to complete application.

Last Name

Peters

First Name

Shelia

Middle Name (If any)

Former Name

Residence Address: Street Address and Apartment Number, City, State, and ZIP. If none, describe where you live. (Do not include P.O. Box or Rural Rt.)

5519 Dashwood Dr. Apt. 20, Houston, TX.

Mailing Address: Address, City, State and ZIP. If mail cannot be delivered to your residence address.

Same 77024

Date of Birth: month, day, year

Gender (Optional)

☐ Male ☒ Female

TX Driver's License No. or Personal I.D. No.

(Issued by the Department of Public Safety) If none, give last 4 digits of your Social Security Number

☒ Check if you do not have a social security, driver's license, or personal identification number

Telephone Number, Include Area Code (Optional)

City and County of Former Residence in Texas

I understand that giving false information to procure a voter registration is perjury, and a crime under state and federal law.

I affirm that I

- am a resident of this county;
- have not been finally convicted of a felony or if a felon I have completed all of my punishment including any term of incarceration, parole, supervision, period of probation, or I have been pardoned; and
- have not been declared mentally incompetent by final judgment of a court of law.

X Shelia Peters Date 062407

Signature of Applicant or Agent and Relationship to Applicant or Printed Name of Applicant if Signed by Witness and Date.

TX_00002112
JA_004871

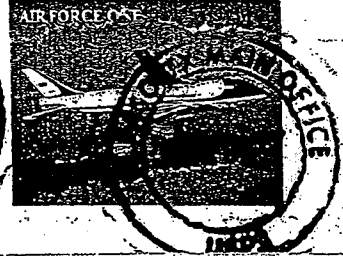
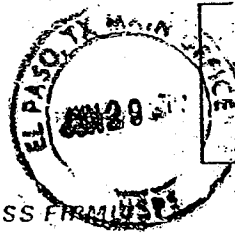
TX_00002112

USA_00019753

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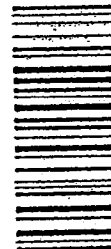
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77024

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TX_00002113
JA_004872

TX_00002113

USA_00019754

Texas Voter Registration Application

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17.04 BPM1.1-04

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6162 4516

Please complete sections by printing legibly. If you have any questions about how to fill out this application, please call the Secretary of State's Office toll free at 1-800-252-VOTE(8683), TDD 1-800-735-2989.

Qualifications

- You must register to vote in the county in which you reside.
- You must be a citizen of the United States.



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completed all of your punishment, including any term of incarceration, parole, supervision, period of probation, or you must have received a pardon.

Complete These Questions Before ProceedingCheck one ☒ New ☐ Change ☐ ReplacementAre you a United States Citizen? ☒ Yes ☐ NoWill you be 18 years of age on or before election day? ☒ Yes ☐ No

If you checked 'no' in response to either of these questions, do not complete this form.

Have you ever voted in this county for a federal office? ☒ Yes ☐ No

If you answered "no" to this question, be sure to see special instructions regarding identification requirements on the reverse side of the application.

- Continue below to complete application.

Last Name	First Name	Middle Name (if any)	Former Name
Peters-Brown	Shelia		

Residence Address: Street Address and Apartment Number, City, State, and ZIP. If none, describe where you live. (Do not include P.O. or Rural Rt.)

5519 Dashwood Dr. Apt. 21, Houston, TX

Mailing Address: Address, City, State and ZIP. If mail cannot be delivered to your residence address.

SAME 77024

Date of Birth: month, day, year Gender (Optional)
☐ Male ☒ FemaleTX Driver's License No. or Personal I.D. No.
(Issued by the Department of Public Safety) If none, give last 4 digits of your Social Security Number☒ Check if you do not have a social security, driver's license, or personal identification numberTelephone Number, Include Area Code
(Optional)

City and County of Former Residence in Texas

I understand that giving false information to procure voter registration is perjury, and a crime under state federal law.

I affirm that I

- am a resident of this county;
- have not been finally convicted of a felony or if a I have completed all of my punishment including term of incarceration, parole, supervision, period probation, or I have been pardoned; and
- have not been declared mentally incompetent by judgment of a court of law.

X Shelia Peters-Brown
Signature of Applicant or Agent and Relationship to Applicant or Printed Name of Applicant if Signed by Witness and I

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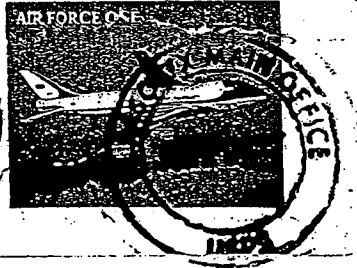
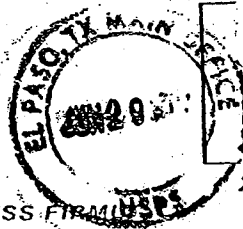
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Houston, TEXAS
77024

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